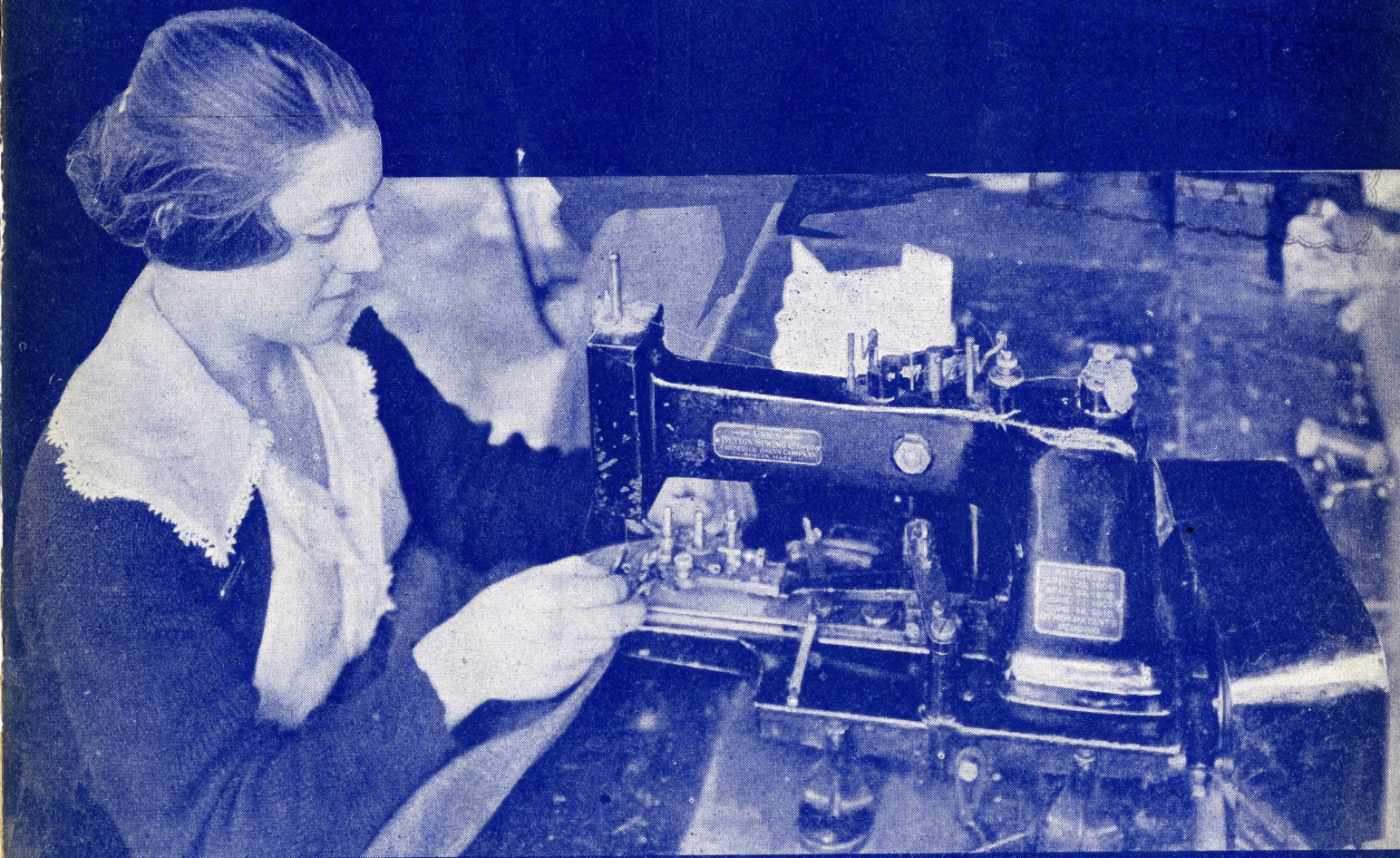


MAY 1924

20 Cents

Labor Age



THE TALE OF YOUR COAT AND CLOAK
Garment Workers Chisel Out New Paths

Labor Age

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.



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THE TALE OF YOUR COAT AND CLOAK

FOOD, Clothing, Shelter.

These are the three material needs of all men and women. Without them life cannot go on. The making of each of them comes home to us all. If they are made badly, they injure us. If they are made unhealthily, they are our concern.

The epic of clothing is one that can particularly fire the imagination and stir the spirit of all workers. Herein is given but a scattering glimpse of how our clothes are made. Only a feeble view is obtained of the rise of the immigrant masses in all the clothing trades a couple of decades ago. From a sweated, beaten mass, the makers of men's and ladies' garments, of furs, of hats and caps, came to be among the strongest of our American unions. It happened almost overnight. Its results have been permanent.

This month the largest of these unions are in convention. The International Ladies' Garment Workers in Boston are laying plans for a complete reorganization of their industry. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are assembled in Philadelphia. The Fur Workers meet in Chicago.

Unions in other trades have not yet caught the full meaning of the recent proposals of the first-named organization. The employers have not yet accepted them. But you can lay your money—if you have any to hazard at all—on the employers' finally doing so.

It is a real marking stone of a new era in American labor development when a union takes the leadership in its own industry. The I. L. G. W. U. has done that and more. It has not merely outlined a general program for a building-anew of the entire business of garment making. It has worked out in detail the things that will bring about a healthy state of affairs. What does it say, in effect? "Our

trade is not in a good condition. The employers have let it drift into a fearful mess. We purpose to rescue it. We do this for the welfare of ourselves. But it is also the only way to make it of real service to the consumer.

"A number of a certain type of employers (the contractors) must go out of business. They are a drug on the market. They hunt for cheap labor. They turn out, as a consequence, shoddy goods. If that keeps up, there will be no demand for ready-made ladies' wear. We cannot allow that to occur.

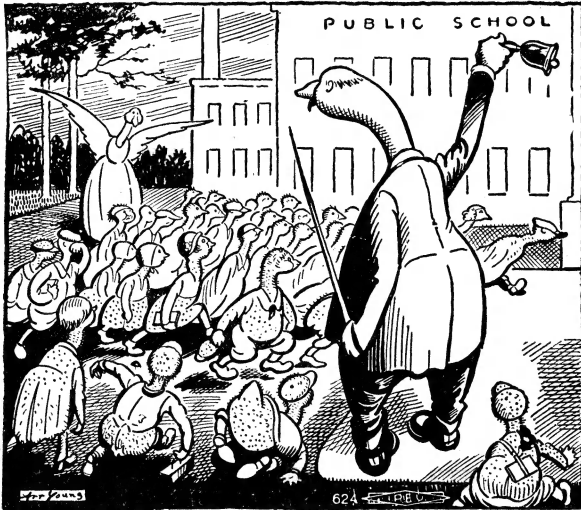
"The union hereafter must see that the number of employers of this type are limited. We must be given the power to look into the books and other affairs of the employing concerns, to see that this agreement is lived up to. Already we regularly look into the employers' books to check up on profits and their relations to the wage scale. But the welfare of the industry calls for an extension of this power. If it is not given, the whole trade will fall to pieces."

Here we have an immense forward step in the demands of American Labor. The organized workers are prepared to take responsibility in seeing that the industry is a healthy one. They mean to have the instruments to enforce a sound condition.

They also plan, in this reorganization, to obtain security of employment for the workers. Insecurity is the great sword of despair ever hanging over the working people. It has been so, ever since the machine system was introduced. Then the "tools" passed from the ownership of the men who worked with them into the hands of the individual capitalist. The Ladies' Garment Workers strike at the roots of this evil. Out of their demands will come a guaranteed period of employment for the men and women in the garment shops.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS



THE GOSLINGS

IN "The Goslings" (Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal., \$2.00), Upton Sinclair has shown the same genius for presenting with journalistic clearness an astounding array of facts, as in "The Goose-Step," its precursor. He shows that the much vaunted American school system is controlled by Big Business as a means of spreading capitalist propaganda. There are also interesting pages on the political game of the Roman Catholic Church, which makes it a policy to work against the efficiency of the public schools in order to play up its own parochial schools. For those who wish to use this book as a volume of reference, or to look up what is going on in their home town, a generous index of persons and places is included.

MEXICO—LAND OF OIL

IN view of recent events, so good a book on "Mexico" as that just written by Carleton Beals (B. W. Huebsch, 1924, \$2.50), is sure to find readers. What struck me particularly was the extraordinary range of knowledge about his subject, which the author had absorbed during his years of residence and work in our neighbor-country. It is unsparingly—even cruelly—critical of Mexican weaknesses, although accounting for them historically. Great praise is accorded to Obregon, "and of equal calibre is General Plutarco Elias Calles." Scathing criticism is made of "American Capital." "The oil companies paid great sums to bandits and even refused the protection of the Mexican Government. They were above the law. They refused to pay their taxes. . . . Companies who committed these crimes are among those who have cried in Mexico and out of Mexico for intervention."

In this connection names are mentioned which have recently come into considerable notoriety—such as "Senator Fall . . . Doheny, Sinclair." The book concludes with a chapter bristling with shameful facts on "the noble spectacle of the diplomacy of the American democracy in relation to a sovereign people which is attempting to emerge from feudalism and save its racial and social integrity." One cannot escape the feeling that perhaps it would be better for Mexico if it had less oil and other good things among its resources.

Trade union libraries can well afford to add this volume to their shelves.

"OIL and the Germs of War," (Pub. by N. S. Nearing, Ridgewood, N. J., 1923), is a recent pamphlet by Scott Nearing. He shows in figures the rapid rise of the oil industry and its importance as a predominating factor in modern war. He concludes that the problem cannot be met by "the present economic system based on the profit motive and organized in national units." His remedy is the setting up of an authority "which will be wide-spread enough to have jurisdiction over the essential economic advantages

and resources of the world, and which will, at the same time, be sufficiently representative so that all of the claimants for the use of any economic advantage or resource shall have a voice in deciding as to its disposition." This would be found in "a world producers' federation" organized along industrial lines.

RUSSIA—FACT AND ILLUSION

ON one of the last occasions when I spoke with Emma Goldman, prior to her imprisonment in America, she was full of the enthusiasm of the Russian Revolution, and of hopes that the Bolsheviki would succeed to the Kerenski government which was then in power. This pro-Bolshevism she maintained until after her deportation to the land of her birth. Through occasional letters from her and Alexander Berkman, I have found it interesting to follow the mental process which she now describes in "My Disillusionment in Russia," (Doubleday Page & Co., 1923, \$2.00).

The major part of the book is rather distressing. It tells of Russia's poverty and suffering, and blames these largely upon the existing governmental bureaucracy. Educational and other reforms are described as existing on paper chiefly, or in special institutions kept up for exhibition to visiting committees, like the British Labor Mission. The impression conveyed is that among the commissars and officials, graft and corruption are about as prevalent as under the old regime. Everywhere is an atmosphere of military tyranny.

The hopeful note of the book is sounded rather artistically. First come rumors that the maligned bandit-leader, Makhno, of the Ukraine, may prove to be a man of really fine character, fighting for the people's liberties. Eventually, in Kiev, the wife of Makhno braves great dangers to come to tell Emma, and through her, "the comrades of America and Europe," of her husband's heroic struggle and what he stands for. The book, as published, is merely a part of Emma Goldman's Russian impressions. A further view will appear later.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of LAOR AGE, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1924. State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis F. Budenz, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Manager of the LAOR AGE, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Labor Publication Society, 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City; editors, J. F. Anderson, Stuart Chase, Max D. Danish, H. W. Laidler, Prince Hopkins, Phil Ziegler, 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City; business and editorial manager, Louis F. Budenz; no managing editor.

2. That the owners are: The Labor Publication Society, a non-stock corporation; approximate membership, 200; 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City; President, James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; Secretary, J. M. Budish, 621 Broadway, New York City; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and condition under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

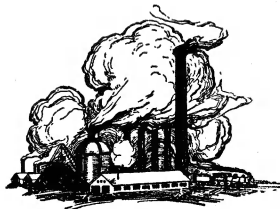
LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of April, 1924.

(SEAL)

MAX KRAFTSCHICK,
Notary Public, New York County.
(My commission expires March 30, 1926.)

Labor Age



Chiselling Out New Paths

A Union Reorganizing An Industry

A SURPRISE would be in store for the American woman—"the best dressed woman in the world"—if she, as a consumer, really looked into the ways and means by which her clothes are made.

The quality of workmanship which goes into her suits and coats and dresses will be determined no longer by the manufacturer and the individual worker alone. The union of the workers on women's wear will also lay down the rules which shall govern that workmanship.

This does not mean that My Lady is to be clothed by an industry which is union-owned. It does mean that a thorough house cleaning is ahead in the making of women's wear. Order must come in manufacturing methods, where now there is chaos. Healthy conditions must be established. The welfare of the industry must be the cornerstone of an entire reorganization. And the demand for this new deal—bringing a better industry and a better product—has come from the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the organization of the workers in that trade.

If the American woman is not aroused by this statement, as she probably will not be, trade unionists everywhere will take another view of this new departure in collective bargaining. It brings in an

entirely new principle in the relations of union workers and employers. It marks a new type of labor statesmanship, which unions can well afford carefully to follow.

It is all happening in New York. The women's clothing industry is the largest single industry in Gotham, indeed in New York State. The 96,000 workers in the Greater City comprise over 13 per cent. of the total workers there, and produce over 17 per cent. of the total product value. The only industries that can at all compare with it are the men's clothing industry, which follows with little over half that number—54,000 workers—printing and publishing, with 52,000, and the iron foundries with 34,000 wage earners.

The "Ten Demands"

The most important unit of the International in New York is the Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union. It represents 50,000 workers. On June first of this year, the wage agreements of the Joint Board with the various employers' associations come to an end.

For the new agreement, the union has put forward its famous "Ten Demands." These reorganize the industry entirely, make for a better product, and bring security to the worker. They are to be enforced by the union, which takes a very definite part

(This article is written by a New York newspaper woman who is looking into the ladies' garment situation.)

LABOR AGE

in the control of managerial conditions. Each one of these demands deserves study, and for that purpose they are given here in full.

1. Limiting the jobber to a certain number of contractors or sub-manufacturers during each season.

2. The establishment of a guaranteed time period of employment in the industry, for which the manufacturers and jobbers shall be responsible.

3. The absolute right of the Union to examine all records which are necessary, in the opinion of the Union, to ascertain that the work is being done in accordance with the provisions of the agreement.

4. An increased minimum wage scale, this scale to become the standard wage in the industry and the only one which the Union will protect.

5. The establishment of a joint insurance fund for unemployed workers, to which the jobbers as well as the manufacturers shall contribute, and from which the workers totally unemployed shall be paid certain definite sums per week for a certain period of the year.

6. The reclassification of the finishers in the trade in view of the changes that have taken place in that branch of the industry.

7. The establishment of certain disciplinary measures against such jobbers or manufacturers as may evade any of the provisions of the agreement.

8. The adoption of a sanitary and union label to be used on all garments union-made and under sanitary conditions.

9. The formation of a labor bureau by the Union, from which the employers shall secure all their workers.

10. The establishment of the 40-hour week.

The history of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York City has been a record of continual struggles. These have transformed the industry from being perhaps the most badly sweated in the country to the front ranks, so far as hours and wages go. From 1910 to 1916 it was the experiment station for the Protocols of Peace and the establishment of impartial arbitration as a substitute for continual strikes. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control, supported and administered by both sides, still functions in the struggle to stamp out the sweatshop.

The Union's Achievements

In the years since 1910, the I. L. G. W. U. has pioneered in the work of labor education. It has opened its Union Health Center, to guard the physical welfare of its members. It has given generous aid to the nation-wide Steel and Miners' Strikes. It has secured outstandingly high conditions for its workers. By all of these things it has made itself a by-word for all that is progressive and far-sighted in American labor unionism.

A check-up shows remarkable gains for the cloak and suit makers since the days when the sweatshop was supreme. The union has secured a 44-hour week, and a minimum wage of \$50 for the skilled operator. It has created joint sanitary supervision and control. It has established a guarantee against discrimination for union activities, freedom from discharge after a week's trial period, except on good and sufficient grounds, union shop chairmen, and the hard-won

week-work system. These are conditions apparently ideal. They are surpassed in one respect only, by the 40-hour week in another branch of the same industry—the dress trade.

If this is the case, why does not the union rest on its laurels and ask merely for a renewal of this agreement? A study of the present condition of the industry gives the answer. It is not revolutionary militancy which makes the union state that "No sooner do we win something than we are faced with new difficulties, where our gains are either threatened or washed away in a storm." The women's garment industry to-day—according to both employers and workers—is in such desperate chaos that some wholly new policy as regards production must be put into effect. The union has taken the initiative in coming forward with the plan that will bring this to pass.

The Small Contractor Evil

"Within the last few years," reads the statement of demands, "the cloak and suit industry in the city of New York has witnessed a radical change in the methods of production. The type of manufacturer who produced his garments in his own establishment is rapidly disappearing *and his place is taken by the so-called 'jobber' who has his goods produced by numerous sub-manufacturers or contractors in scattered establishments bidding against each other for the privilege of doing the jobber's work.* The new system has proved highly injurious. It has encouraged the growth of sub-manufacturers or contractors to an unhealthy and dangerous extent. The cloak and suit industry in this city employs about 50,000 workers. Upon a rational organization there should be no more than a maximum of 500 producing units, at an average of one establishment for 100 workers. As a matter of fact there are no less than 3,000 cloak factories . . . an average of one manufacturing establishment for every sixteen workers."

The Joint Board of Sanitary Control has found that a thousand of these shops are so housed and maintained that they are "sweat shops"—in fact, if not in name. They breed conditions disastrous to the health of the workers and dangerous for the consumer.

The upspringing of so many shops is rendered possible, because the contractor takes no real risks in the business. The jobber furnishes everything—the raw material and the styles, setting the prices and marketing the finished product. Competing madly with each other, these contractors must necessarily skimp on the quality of workmanship. As the material is given them, there is no chance for saving there. If they can, they evade union conditions—

and union control is well-nigh impossible in these mushroom establishments. The garments, as a result, are also shoddily made.

The contractors rise daily and fall daily. Their workers are to all intents and purposes squeezed out by the fierce competition. Fashion has always made the industry as uncertain as a highly seasonalized trade could be. This new condition has created it into a week-to-week instead of a seasonal trade. Certainty of employment is a mere phrase when employers are likely to give up their shops at almost any moment. All this has nullified many of the gains the workers had previously made.

The Consumer is Hit

The worker is not the only one injured by this "system." The consumer also comes in for a rough time of it. The inefficiency and wastefulness of the system increase rather than decrease prices. The manufacturers admit a woeful lack of "pride in industry." Workmanship has never been so poor. There is a constant bartering and stealing of styles so that style individuality—an important factor in this industry—is well nigh impossible. Even the introduction of labor and time saving devices is hampered, not by the union, but by the small overnight shop. So testifies a manufacturer of machinery. The employer for one season cares nothing and understands nothing of efficiency.

The union puts forward its program for the remedying of these evils not from a "philanthropic impulse." Nor to "make the dose we are going to administer a more palatable one." But because an industry that is rapidly being broken to pieces is a bad industry for a man to labor in. The union has a bigger stake in the industry as a whole than any other factor in the trade. The manufacturer and the jobber have only their money invested. If the industry goes bad they can get into another industry. But the worker has his life invested. If the only industry in which he is a skillful worker goes bad, his means of livelihood is gone.

Now, about the demands of the union program. On the face of it they may appear, says the union, "as an invasion of the jobbers business and dictating to him conditions over which the union has no jurisdiction." But, it answers, this "is not quite so. As industrial conditions stand in the cloak trade to-day, it means that when a contractor loses his work in the middle of the season he stands no chance of getting other work that season—which means that the workers cannot get any more work. . . . It means nothing short of a lockout, and the Union will

naturally fight its hardest to defend its workers against it."

What Say the Employers?

What is the answer of the employers to these proposals? The employers are organized in three groups—the contractors' association, the jobbers' association, and the association of "inside" manufacturers. These latter are those manufacturers who are responsible for manufacturing the entire product. With all three of these organizations, the union has wage agreements. To all three the same memorandum was submitted. In the past the agreement with the most important body, the jobbers, merely called for the sending of contract work exclusively to union contractors. To-day, of course, it calls for control and limitation of the number of these contractors.

The jobbers deny that they are the direct employers of labor. They supply raw materials only, they claim, because of credit conditions in the woolen industry. With the present "stealing" of styles they deny that they supply styles. They insist on "unlimited freedom in the choice of contractors," except to the extent that the contractors shall have been approved as union shops by the Union.

"But," inquires the union, "if you are not employers of labor, why have you entered into contractual relations with us in the past? Why are we negotiating at present?"

The "inside" manufacturers association blames the entire conditions of the industry on the union. They insist that if a return to piece work and freedom of discharge were effected, the industry would be on a healthier basis. But, as the Union points out, the contracting evil flourished in 1915 when piece-work and freedom of discharge were in force.

The organized contractors—who represent the better class of sub-manufacturing establishments—back the demands of the union in the hope of standardizing conditions.

One thing stands out beyond doubt. The employers of all groups, who claim to be at the helm, cannot control the ship—alone. The Union, in this crisis, has come forward to take leadership. Under its plan the industry will be put on a healthy basis, the workers will be guaranteed against unemployment, the consumer will be assured a good product. And backing the industry will be the union itself, to see that these rules are enforced.

Under these circumstances, the "Ten Demands" of the I. L. G. W. U. have become a necessity for the industry.

From Pain to Victory

The Making of Men's Clothes—and the A. C. W.

By CHARLES ERVIN

OVER ONE BILLION dollars worth of men's clothing is produced every year in this country. And when it has been sold to the wearers FIVE HUNDRED MILLION dollars more has been paid for the product.

It took the work of at least 165,000 people to fashion the cloth into garments. Five hundred million dollars was invested to produce it. Its the tenth largest industry in the country, and as a product immediately ready for use by the consumer it is the second.

The growth of the industry proper covers a period of less than 65 years. Prior to about 1850 all sewing was done by hand and clothing was manufactured in the home or for wealthy people by a custom tailor. The sewing machine when first marketed, did very poor work and it was used to make only the cheapest clothing. The development of the industry was therefore very slow. The Civil War brought in the factory system. The army had to be clothed and clothed quickly. From this necessity came some standardization, sub-division of work and other factory methods. And from the furnishing of measurements by the government, data was secured of the proportion of men requiring different sizes. The possession of this data was a big factor in the founding of the ready-made garment industry.

At first this clothing was of such a crude character that its sale in the more prosperous Eastern portion of the country was small. It was the newly developed communities in the Middle West that bought and wore it. Chicago, the trading center of this section, became an important clothing market in the years from 1870 to 1880. Because of the long term credits required by the retailers, only manufacturers with large capital could carry on this business. This meant large manufacturing plants, and to-day Chicago has larger manufacturing plants than most of the other clothing centers.

The Coming of Electric Power

The development of the industry both in size and methods was very limited up to 1880. It was in the cutting-room that the first improvement in machinery came. First the long knife and then the revolving knife which is the principle used to-day in the latest cutting machines, increased the production in

this department. It was not until the late nineties that the development of the electric power motor brought great changes to the tailoring department. And it was not until the last decade that the pressing machine made any great inroads on the hand processes.

At first the manufacture was carried on by a combination of factory and household industry. The cutting was done in the shop and the product was sent to the homes of women in the rural districts, who made the garments in their spare hours between their farm chores. To-day, in some Pennsylvania Dutch communities, there is a remnant of this practice. But even at this early time there were some factories that established and developed more modern methods of work.

In the seventies and eighties many German Jewish immigrants were found among the workers. In 1881 came the Russian Jewish immigrants into the industry. Then came the Bohemians and Poles and after 1900, the Italians. The second great wave of Russian Jewish immigrants into the industry came after the abortive Russian Revolution of 1905. It was the entrance of all these immigrants into the industry that was responsible for its great expansion from 1880 on.

The Russian Jews settled largely in New York, though a considerable number went to Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago. The Bohemians and Poles helped to develop the industry in Baltimore and Chicago. The Italians followed the Jews in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Later they came into Rochester, where the Germans were always a large element. With the expansion of the industry came a great development in factory and shop work. An almost complete discontinuation of giving out work to rural sections took place, owing to the large immigrant labor supply made available to manufacturers.

One Immigrant Race Against Another

The practical lack of organization on the part of the workers resulted in the playing off of one group of immigrants against another and the development of serious abuses. The task system and the sweat shop prevailed. One worker did the operating, another hand work, and the third the pressing. Women

did the finishing at home. The task system being confined almost exclusively to the eastern markets, (where most of the emigrants settled) brought about a great development of the industry in New York. Labor costs were slashed, the workers toiling day and night for a bare pittance.

To meet the fierce competition of the task system, the makers of the better grades introduced from England a system of subdivision of operations. This meant the dividing up of the operating, tailoring, etc., permitting the employment of women and girls. One person, performing only one operation, did away with the need for the highly skilled tailor. The system of sub-divisions has been developed to such an extent that there are now factories which have from 150 to 200 operations in the making of a coat. This also made possible the great clothing factories under one management.

In the early nineties the public became alarmed over the stories about the unsanitary conditions in the sweat shops. There much of the clothing worn by the people was then made. Laws requiring better conditions were put upon the statute books. As the methods of manufacture were improved, more people took to wearing ready-made clothing. More attention was paid to both style and variety of fabrics. Trade-marks were adopted and advertising began. As better workmanship and closer supervision was necessary to turn out a high grade product, manufacturers found that a shop in which the entire garment was produced gave a more uniform standard of quality, and lessened the risk of styles being copied by competitors. The perfection of electric power machinery also helped much in the development of large scale production.

In its early days the clothing industry had its middleman, the jobber. Long credits were the rule and the jobber marketed the product and relieved the maker from financing for a long period his manufactured stock. Later when trade-marked, advertised brands developed, the jobber became less of a factor. The last twenty-five years has practically done away with the jobber, except perhaps in the New York market. The manufacturers in most cases sell directly to the retailers. This means that most of the clothing is now made to meet actual orders placed before the beginning of the season and less is manufactured for stock.

No Monopoly

The development of the clothing industry came in the period of combination and monopoly in other large industries. Though there has been a steady growth in number and size of the larger establish-

ments, the clothing industry remains to-day one of the most competitive in the United States. Trade-mark advertising has built up large concerns, but on the other hand, the matter of individual style has permitted smaller establishments. The largest concern making men's clothing employs less than 5 per cent. of the total workers in the industry and sells a little over 5 per cent. of the total product. The ten largest manufacturers make about 20 per cent. of the total product. Only one-fifth of the establishments are owned by corporations and 60 per cent. of the workers are employed in them. In the other industries of the country nearly 90 per cent. of the workers are employed in factories owned by corporations.

Out of the 4,539 separate establishments in the industry in the United States, nearly all of the individual concerns employ less than 50 workers, only about ten of them employing over 1,000 wage-earners directly. About one-third of the workers are employed in factories of 250 or more and the census of manufacturers of 1921 shows only 100 factories which are as large as this in the entire country. From this it can be seen that the industry is keenly competitive—with small shop units as the prevailing type. The size of the establishments vary greatly in the different markets. In Chicago about 25 of the 500 shops employ 60 per cent. of the workers. In Rochester a similar condition prevails, while in New York and other eastern centers small shop units prevail.

There are two methods of operating plants. Shops where the cutting and tailoring are done on the same premises are called "inside shops." Shops where only the cutting is done are called "contract shops." In the latter establishments the cut garments are sent to a contractor. This relieves the manufacturer not only of the responsibility of conducting a tailoring shop. It also permits of a quick expansion in periods of prosperity and just as quick a cutting down of overhead charges in periods of depression. The contractor's profit frequently lies in his small overhead expenses. The contract shop system has been used by unscrupulous manufacturers to play one contract shop against another and thus undercut labor costs.

The Coming of the "Inside Shop"

The "inside shop" developed with the adoption of trade-marks and national advertising. This made an "inside shop" necessary, in order that the manufacturer who sold under a trade-mark could be assured by personal supervision of the uniformity of quality of clothing tailored in his own styles. Otherwise, his investment in good will and advertising might be lost.

CHILD
WORKERS
ON COATS



An Evil
Killed
By the
A. C. W. of A.

Up to 1919 (for which year the last official figures are available), an increase of 25 per cent. from 1909 in "inside shops" and a decrease of over 30 per cent. in contractor shops is shown. It is said, however, that the number of contract shops has materially increased since the so-called "deflation" of the war boom after 1920.

New York is still the largest center in the manufacture of men's clothing, though its production has decreased materially of late years. In 1909 about one-third of the clothing in the country was manufactured there and in 1919 one-fourth of all the clothing workers in the country were employed there. Chicago, which early became an important center in the development of the industry, is now pre-eminently the center of the larger nationally advertised clothing concerns. The number of workers employed in the Chicago market is about 35,000 or slightly over one-fifth of those in the entire country.

Rochester is the third largest center, specializing in the higher grades of clothing. Baltimore has been on the decline since 1909. At that time over 13,000 workers were employed there, whereas in 1921 they numbered 8,500. Philadelphia and Boston have fluctuated considerably in the last 20 years. Philadelphia has increased slightly, while Boston has shown a declining tendency. In the six cities are employed two-thirds of the workers in the entire industry.

Women in the Picture

Woman and needle work are generally associated in one's mind. It is therefore not surprising to find a very large proportion of them in the clothing industry. In some centers they run as high as 60 per

cent. In the early period comparatively few were employed in the factory. Under the task system which up to 1900 prevailed in the Eastern centers, one worker did the operating, another the tailoring and another the pressing. A team of three workers, mostly men, who were highly skilled and speedy, produced the garment. When subdivision of operations was introduced, women came into factories in ever greater numbers. The only exception is in New York, where women have not become a large factor. In the pressing department the work has been generally too hard for women and the cutting department is almost exclusively in the hands of the men workers. *The men's clothing industry is one of the few in the country in which there is both a large proportion of women employed and a high degree of union organization. In the entire union 41 per cent. of the members are women.*

The men's clothing industry is one of the largest union industries of the country. In 1921 the United States Government reported 165,000 workers employed in the men's clothing industry including workers on overalls and similar men's garments. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America alone had approximately 143,000 members on July 1st, 1921. This means that the proportion of workers organized in the clothing industry is six times the proportion of all industries in the United States.

The result of this high percentage of organization is shown when the data on annual earnings and hours of labor for the last 15 years is examined. In 1909 the United States Government reported the average annual earnings in the industry as \$470.00. In 1921 the average was \$1,222, though there was much un-

employment in that year. This was \$150 more than the average of all wage-earners in all industries in the country. In 1909 the prevailing hours of labor were 54 per week. In 1921 practically all of the workers in the industry in the country worked 44 hours per week. The only exception was to be found in certain overall factories not under the control of the Amalgamated, and in certain non-union establishments.

"A Garment of Pain"

The development of trade unionism within the clothing industry is perhaps one of the most dramatic stories in the history of labor in the United States. Until very recent years the product of the toil of the tens of thousand of the workers in the industry was, in the words of an American writer, "a garment of pain." The immigrants who came to this country seeking a release from the degrading poverty of older countries at first fell easy victims to the greed of the employers of that day. Accustomed to lives of never ending toil just to earn bare bread, they were sweated in the land in which they sought refuge worse than they had been in the countries from which they came. In the height of the season many of them worked 90 to 100 hours a week and then were cast aside to exist as best they could, until the owners of the clothing shops again needed their services.

The intense sweating of the workers is generally placed as beginning in the eighties of the last century, with the increase of immigration from Southern Europe and Russia. In reality it began far back of that period. In the thirties, women and children in the household were the victims of the employers of that day. In 1836 seamstresses averaged only \$1.25 per week. And as usual the immigrant of that day was the worst victim of this sweating. It was in the thirties that, taking advantage of the wave of unionism that spread through the eastern part of the country, the Female Union Society of Tailoresses and Seamstresses was formed in an attempt to get better prices for their work. In the Journeymen's Tailor strike in 1833, these underpaid women were used as a threat by the employers to try and force the men workers back into the shop. The strikers were in the custom tailor trade and their employers threatened to replace them with the women workers.

After the women workers had gained some small increases through organization, their union was allowed to go to pieces, as many other unions did after the activity of the thirties. For nearly fifty years organizations of clothing workers cut very

little figure in the industry. During the days of the Knights of Labor, in the eighties, there was some attempt made to organize the clothing workers. The Tailors' National Trade Assembly was a part of the Knights, to be followed later by the United Garment Workers' of America which was affiliated with the growing American Federation of Labor.

From the very beginning of the United Garment Workers, the cutters were in control, although they are numerically but a very small part of the workers in the clothing industry. Now, the cutting was always done inside the manufacturing establishments and practically all of the tailoring outside. A feeling of superiority arose, as a consequence, among the cutters. This was used to keep them apart from the workers in the other sections of the industry, who outnumbered them so greatly. The results of this division among the workers was a big factor in keeping the tailors for over twenty years from materially improving their conditions.

The cutters were more thoroughly organized and their scale was for years much higher than that of the tailors. To-day, on the other hand, workers of equal skill among the tailors and cutters earn practically the same wage.

The Tailors Revolt

During the nineties, and for the first part of this century, many unions of the tailors were formed. Gains were made for a time. But these were lost through failure to maintain continuous and effective organization work in this branch of the industry. These workers received very little help from the balance of the labor movement in their struggles. But nevertheless, that spirit which had enabled them to withstand the persecution that most of them had suffered in other lands kept the spirit of revolt against unjust labor conditions alive within them. And experience slowly but surely taught them the value of keeping their organization continuously strong.

In 1910 a general strike of the clothing workers in Chicago took place. The struggle was a very bitter one and waged for months. So badly organized were the workers nationally that the workers in the East, where there was but a skeleton of an organization, were used to break the Chicago strike. Many thousands of Chicago garments were sent to New York to be made up. But out of this strike came a settlement with one large manufacturing concern, Hart, Schaffner and Marx. And it was this settlement that practically laid the foundation for the present great organization of the clothing workers in Chicago.

(Another article by Mr. Ervin on the A. C. W. of A. will appear next month.)

Furs and the Fur Workers

By A. BROWNSTEIN

A PICTURE of the fur industry in Greater New York is the picture of the fur industry of the country.

The making of furs goes on in practically one market. It is located in the Greater City. There it is that practically 75 per cent. of the fur goods for wholesale distribution are manufactured. In other cities—Chicago, Philadelphia, Montreal—but little work is done, and the number of workers is consequently small.

When "a female of the species" buys a sable coat or mink muff or other piece of fur goods, it may have come from an animal in the wilds of Northern Canada. The skin may have been sold in the rough at the famous market at St. Louis—running back to pre-revolutionary days. But it is almost sure to have been made into the finished product on the east side of the Hudson River.

In New York City, in a word, are listed and operating close to 2,000 manufacturing establishments. In New York City a little over 9,000 workers are engaged in making fur garments and trimmings. An industry of almost 2,000 establishments with 9,000 workers, averaging less than five workers to an establishment! It is clear what huge difficulties confront a union, attempting to control the labor market in such an industry. And yet, the making of furs is thoroughly organized, regulated and supervised by the Joint Board of the Furriers' Union in the interest of the workers in the trade. How that is done may be an interesting story for more than one person outside the clothing trade.

There is both a collective and independent agreement operating in the industry. The first is made with the Associated Fur Manufacturers, usually for a period of two years. The independent agreement, running simultaneously with the collective, is made with independent manufacturers, non-members of the Association. The conditions operating in the independent shops are the same as in other shops, and therefore the agreements are practically identical in character.

The General Strikes

During the existence of the Fur Union there were three general strikes, in 1907, in 1912 and in 1920. The first two upheavals were of short duration. The workers were then not thoroughly organized. But between the years of 1912-20, the Union not only

increased the wages of the workers and reduced the hours of labor. It likewise strengthened the organization and absolutely controlled the labor market in New York.

A sudden turn of events, like a cloudburst in a clear sky appeared in the spring of 1920. Manufacturers who were in the habit of getting many and large orders, were confronted with numerous cancellations of orders previously placed. The Union, conscious of its responsibility, made demands upon the Association, that in order to tide over this period the shops should operate with their full force, on time division basis. The workers thus, instead of being discharged, would still retain their positions. They would, however, work less hours and be paid pro rata for the hours worked. Conferences, as usual, were held. The manufacturers took a stubborn attitude, refusing to yield to the just demands of the Union. Likewise, they declined to offer any alternative, insisting upon their right to discharge the workers and retain those whom they wanted according to their needs. During the period of negotiations the discharges were continued. Finally the number of workers out of employment exceeded those still working in the shops. The Union was then compelled to call a general strike, in order to force the hands of the employer. On May 27th, 1920, the workers laid down their tools in the shops and came out en masse in answer to the call of the Union.

This strike lasted until December 16th, 1920, a period of seven months. Both sides were then tired and exhausted from the great struggle. There was no mistake about the motive of the Manufacturers at the time. They were out to take advantage of the market situation in order to disrupt the Union. During the strike they resorted to all kinds of tactics, even going to the extent of cutting down or entirely curtailing credits of manufacturers who had signed with the Union during the period of the struggle. *They used the credit houses and the banks as weapons with which to fight the Union and the workers.*

When they saw that after a six-months period they did not succeed in disrupting the organization, they gave up the attempt. The Union, on its part, realizing that it was entering a period of dull months—January and February—agreed to accept the proposition offered it. This was that the workers

return to work and the agreement previously operating in the industry continue in force for one year. The main features of this agreement provided that all workers in shops must be union members, 10 legal holidays to be enjoyed by the workers with pay for same, a minimum scale of wages, time and one-half for overtime, no inside contracting, 3 months division of work and the machinery for the adjustment of disputes. This machinery consists of a representative of the Union, a representative of the Manufacturers Association and an impartial chairman of the Committee, Dr. Paul Abelson. The Conference Committee of the Fur Industry consists of five representatives of the Association, five of the Joint Board Furriers Union and the International Fur Workers Union and Dr. Judah L. Magnes, the impartial chairman.

This agreement was again renewed in the spring of 1922 in its entirety and expired on February 1st, 1924.

Peculiar Ailments of Fur

Ever since 1920, the industry has not recovered its previous normal condition. The fur industry is a seasonal industry. It has three so-called seasons, spring, summer and fall, with periods of idleness extending for weeks and sometimes months between seasons. September and October are usually the busiest months of the year. After that time a long period of slackness usually prevails. During the months of November and December "equitable division of work" operates in the shops. This enables the workers to earn something during the first part of the long slack season. But during the following two or three months, just before the spring season, there is hardly any work being done in the shops, less than 10 per cent. of the workers being engaged during these months. The workers have the same experience in between the other seasons.

The fur industry is one in which machinery plays a comparatively small part. There are four branches of work. The first is the cutting, which requires only a peculiarly shaped knife obtainable for a dollar or two. The nailing is an operation which needs but a pair of pincers, while the finishing craft of the industry is one in which the old type of Singer machine and needle and thread are the only things necessary.

The one operation that requires any kind of machinery is the operating branch, the operator using a machine somewhat similar to the one used by glove manufacturers. This machine is not an expensive one. It does not require considerable capital for the outfit of a shop to establish oneself in business. The only requirements are special skill and knowledge of

the method of putting the skins together, rather than any machinery.

"In Business For Themselves"

Due largely to this lack of machinery, it becomes very easy for two or three competent and skilled workers to form a co-partnership. They hire a small room and "establish themselves in business." Lacking capital wherewith to buy skins and establish a sufficient credit, they proceed to underbid the cost of production to the manufacturer inside of his own shop. Thus they persuade and induce him to give out to them skins to be made into garments at a much lower figure than it has cost him to make up those same garments inside his own shop. They are able to compete with the inside workers of the shop because they are "bosses" for and over themselves. Thus they escape the regulations of the Union as to hours, holiday stoppages, etc. By disregarding all the standards which regulate the shops in the industry they work incessantly long hours. "Only to be independent of bosses," they become slaves to themselves.

The workers of the trade are thus put in a peculiar situation. Not only do they have to overcome the usual competition between one worker and another, especially during the dull seasons. They also have to overcome the unfair advantages of such contractors. This accounts for the great number of so-called fur establishments, bringing their number up to close to two thousand, (1700 listed and probably 200 or more unlisted) as against 9,000 workers engaged in the industry. This is and has been the greatest obstacle that the fur workers have to contend with.

These small "co-partnership" establishments are not even contractors in the true sense of the word. They are not tied down to any one given shop. Nor is any shop bound to give them work. The manufacturer who gives them work has no other responsibility to them.

The Demands of 1924

The agreement functioning in the industry provides for two months negotiations for a new one prior to the expiration of the old agreement. It was with this in view that the Joint Board formed its demands for the features to be put into the new agreement for 1924. Among these were five of the most important, consisting of (1) an increase over the then existing minimum wage. (2) Regulation of the number of apprentices. (3) A further extension of the period of division of work to operate in the shops during the dull seasons. (4) A control over the contracting establishments, and (5) the

THE MODERN SHOPS

BATTLES OF UNIONS HAVE BROUGHT GREAT CHANGES



***I**T is the same with every one of the needle trades. The union has cleaned the shops. It has cut out the unhealthy holes of the old days. It has helped to give birth to the modern shops.*

To hold these good things for the workers, the union must be on constant guard. Some employers are trying to run away from the big cities. They hope in small towns to build anew the sweatshop. They look to the country girl for cheap labor and a new chance for big profits.

The enemy of the union is the small shop. Here is one industry where bigger business would spell better things for the workers. Not in every case. But that is the rule. The employers have, in many instances, failed to know how to improve their own businesses. It has been left to the unions to assume the lead in mapping out programs for the improvement of the industry.

introduction of an unemployment insurance fund for the workers.

These were the major demands of the Union, the results of which were as follows: The Union obtained an increase over the minimum wage amounting to 121½ per cent. The number of "learners" to be admitted to the industry limited to 10 per cent. of the members of the organization in a given year. An agreement in principle reached on an insurance fund for the industry. A committee is to be appointed with the privilege of engaging experts to study the "ways and means" of securing such a fund. They will, within the course of one year, have to bring in feasible plans for the installation of the fund. The contracting establishments have been covered to the extent that no manufacturer is permitted to give out work to any contractor unless said contractor is himself an employer of labor, employing not less

than five workers in his shop. This shop must be under the control of the Union and he himself must employ only union workers. As for the demand for an extension of division of work period; a clause has been inserted wherein the Association binds itself to devise some plan, should an emergency in unemployment conditions arise in the industry. Thus the Union has made still further advances in the new agreement, meaning improved conditions for the makers of furs.

It has reduced the hours of labor from 59 to 55, then to 48, and finally to 44 hours a week. It has correspondingly increased the wages of workers double and quadruple. It has curbed the appetite of the employers, tightened the reins over the contractors, and in general brought order and established standards in an industry, chaotic prior to the coming of the Joint Board Furriers Union.

HOME OF A GREAT LABOR BODY



Headquarters at Harrisburg, Pa., of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—the most active body of its kind in the country. It has stood for years as a challenge to Industrial Autocracy in that state. The Keystone State was also the first to create its own department for the promotion of the education of the workers by themselves. One of the chief concerns of the Federation—due to the interest of President Maurer—has been in this field. The spirit guiding the work is shown in Dr. Hogue's address on the next page.

The Value of Our Own Education

(Address by Dr. Richard W. Hogue, Director, Workers' Education Department, Pennsylvania Federation of Labor to recent Miners' Convention.)

IT is said that there was once an ignorant Irishman who landed at Ellis Island. When the immigration inspector asked him about his ancestry, Pat looked puzzled and remained silent. The inspector told him that by ancestry he meant the people he sprang from. "Faith and begorra," exclaimed Pat. "In the place I come from we don't spring from anybody—we spring at 'em!" In the very few minutes I have, I've got to spring at you swiftly, without formality, with the weapon of Workers' Education. It is Labor's newest weapon in the defense of its rights and the support of its progress. Through organization, the workers of the world are at last becoming free to lift their heads above the grind of toil to catch a vision of the human rights to which they are entitled.

Workers' Education is more than a class movement. It is an answer to the challenge of existing social, political and industrial evils and injustices. It is a response to the individual worker's ambition to lead a life of wider knowledge, larger power and greater happiness.

Why do we need Workers' Education, when it is claimed that any ambitious boy can get a college education in America? The claim is false. You know how false it is. How many of you and those you represent had the chance to go to college, or even high school?

By taxes we support the biggest public school system in the world. Billions of dollars are invested in our great universities—classical, professional and technical. An educated citizenship is essential to the existence of a democracy. Yet, in these United States, in this day, nearly 90 per cent. of the children never even get through high school. Last year five million children of school age did not go to school one single day, while 1,700,000 children under 16 years old were compelled to go to work. Practically 90 per cent. of the money of the nation (with all the security and power that go with it) is owned or controlled by a strong few, while insufficient incomes and insecure lives are the lot of the large majority.

It is not class jealousy or envy, but a sense of moral justice that proclaims the present state of things to be both wrong and dangerous. The vast majority of people are not enlightened about existing conditions, their causes and their cure. The few who receive adequate educational advantages are drawn for the class that can pay, and are trained in colleges and universities whose boards of trustees represent the small owning class. Even our local boards of education are drawn almost entirely from non-labor or anti-labor groups. Labor is therefore

forced, in self-respect as well as self-defense, into the field of education. It has entered that field, therefore, with the conviction that is born of a great practical need. Workers' Education in America is not only a new thing. It is a unique thing, free from control delegated to long distance trustees and short policy boards. It is in the control of the students who form the classes, with teachers and text books of their own selection and with full freedom of discussion in the classes. Its curriculum ranges from a study of the English language to the purpose and program of the Labor Movement, for public speaking to politics, from the better appreciation of literature to the larger knowledge of life, from practical problems of to-day to the principles of the new social order of the future. It may be of some help if I quote, in closing, the following questions put to the workers of Pennsylvania by the Education Department of the State Federation of Labor. They give the scope and range of the field to be covered by the Workers' Education Movement.

Do you want to know more about the Trade Union Movement, its past history, present problems and future hopes? The political and industrial history of the country and state in which you live? The labor laws of your state and nation and the workers' rights under these laws?

Do you wish to secure some of the education you lost by having to go to work as a youth? To be as well informed as the fellow on the other side? To know about such vital matters as: Compensation, Free Speech, Free Assembly, Boycott, Contempt of Court, Eviction and Injunction, Arrest and Bail, Trial by Jury and Appeal?

Ignorance of these has cost the workers enormously in money and time, has brought great suffering to their families, has often caused arrest and imprisonment and sometimes death.

Don't you believe that labor should be an intelligent power in politics? That you should be ready for the time when the workers will have a larger share in the control of the industries to which they give their lives? That labor would benefit in many ways by a better trained and better informed rank and file? That the right sort of labor official is not afraid of an educated rank and file?

You will give your answers to these questions when you pass the resolution on Workers' Education proposed by your committee on resolutions. It is a long, hard pull between the passage of a Convention resolution and the putting of that resolution into working effect. That is at present my job in Pennsylvania and I shall appreciate the privilege of co-operating with those of you who are moved by genuine interest and strong conviction.

Saints and Seers of Progress

1. James Russell Lowell—American Poet of Freedom

*"'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle
slaves
Of a legendary virtue carved upon our
fathers' graves,
Worshippers of light ancestral make the
present light a crime;
Was the Mayflower launched by cowards,
steered by men behind their time?
Turn those tracks toward Past or Future,
that make Plymouth Rock sublime?"*

WE workers of to-day, faced with a struggle for freedom as intense as that which tore asunder the generation of James Russell Lowell, can draw new strength for the fight from his stirring pages. They ring with the fervor of revolt against Property and Oppression that has never been long absent from American literature. From out of his great poem, **"The Present Crisis,"** there comes a prophetic voice, urging us anew to the battle against Slavery.

For Lowell, the question as to whether or not slavery was justifiable admitted of but answer. To a friend of his he writes: "Absolute freedom is what I want—for the body first, and then, for the mind. For the body first, because it is easier to make men conscious of the wrong of that grosser and more outward oppression, and after seeing that, they will perceive more readily the less palpable chains and gags of tyranny."

This was always the temper of his mind. All his life he could think of nothing more to be desired than freedom. And he saw that freedom always ahead—as the lines from "The Present Crisis" show. There can be no freedom in the past. For the past is outworn. Its battles are won. He is continually repeating this notion of his. "When will men learn that the only true conservatism lies in growth and progress, that whatever has ceased growing has begun to die."

*"We are not free: doth Freedom then
consist
In musing with our faces towards the Past,
While petty cares and crawling interests
twist
Their spider-threads about us, which at
last
Grow strong as iron chains, to cramp and
bind
In formal narrowness heart, soul, and
mind? . . .
Freedom gained yesterday is no longer
ours;
Men gather but dry seeds of last year's
flowers."*

His genius lay, of course, in showing how right were the contentions of the people fighting the enslavement of the black man. In his continual cry for freedom, he has expressed the hope of those of all times who are striving upward and forward toward a Better Day. But in the **"Biglow Papers,"** probably his finest work, he shows the folly and hypocrisy of those who oppose this upward march. Its Yankee humor, full of sarcastic shafts at those in power, is almost unmatched in American literature.

*"The mass ough' to labor an' we lay on
soffies,
That's the reason I want to spread Free-
dom's aree;
It puts all the cunninest on us in office,
An' reelizes our Maker's orig'nal idee,"*

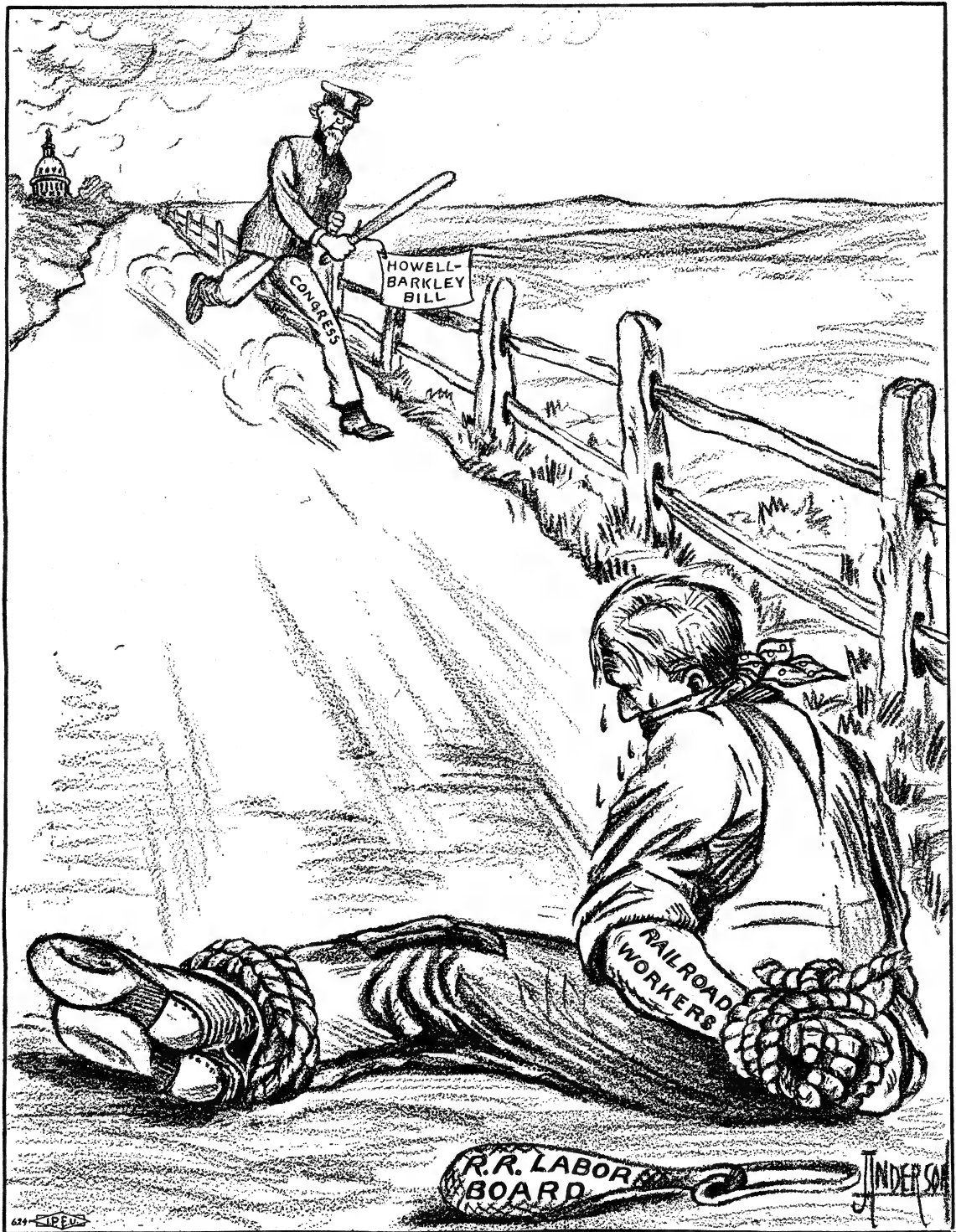
he makes John C. Calhoun remark—Calhoun, one of the greatest government officials of that day, who could justify anything that the great slave-holding power did. (They had the "justifiers" even in those days). How many similar "whited sepulchres" there are in oil-flooded Washington in 1924!

But Hosea Biglow, the "cute" Yankee, who was "on to" Calhoun's secrets, knew pretty well what all of us know to-day: that freedom isn't a matter for the individual alone. None can be truly free if the people we live and work with are not. He says:

*"Tell you jest the eend I've come to
Arter cipherin' plaguy smart,
An' it makes a handy sum, tu,
Any gump could larn by heart;
Laborin' man an' laborin' woman
Hev one glory an' one shame.
Ev'rythin' thet's done inhuman
Injers all on 'em the same."*

Hosea, canny New Englander that he was, never committed himself. He only razzed (that's positively the only word to use) the others, the slave owners in both North and South. But James Russell Lowell was more than a "cute" Yankee. He knew the realities of the situation and he kept them pretty clearly in mind—or, at least, Hosea did. But, he knew, too, the end toward which he was working. He could see further than his nose. He knew that all this striving and fussing, that all Hosea's bantering was all for the great goal—the cause of human freedom. His own words on this point are best.

"We are to inaugurate and carry on the new system," he says, "which will make Man of more value than Property; which will one day put the living value of industry above the dead value of capital."



Drawn by J. F. Anderson of the Machinists

HURRY!

A New Declaration of Independence

Will It Be Proclaimed on July 4th, 1924?

From the Labor Press

DESPITE the fashion of dictatorships in some parts of the world, the blessings of Democracy are spreading far and wide. Comic opera princes are rivaled now in the Balkans by comic opera democrats. Over in Ruthenia they are having a hectic election over the question—but let the **Living Age** tell the story:

"Thirteen political parties, all of whose names no one person can remember, are conducting a furious campaign among the illiterate Ruthenians." The issue is "whether or not certain letters shall be omitted from an alphabet which no one can read. Our own Presidential struggle has at last met its equal."

For "our own Presidential struggle" to have found its peer is a happening of no small importance—if we are to put our trust in Congressman Victor Berger of Milwaukee. The other day he made a speech on "our political and economic conditions," on the floor of Congress. Paraphrasing, it would run as follows: The Ruthenians' thirteen parties are battling over letters which they cannot read. The Americans' two parties are battling over—nothing.

"Our capitalistic friends," he says, "support both parties. All big corporations pay into the funds of both parties. Nobody will deny that. Sinclair stated it on the stand some months ago, and the information did not create the slightest ripple.

"Wall Street is bi-partisan. Our oil magnates—or our trust magnates—will buy a Cabinet officer whether he be Democrat or Republican. It simply depends which party is in power. They will buy the son-in-law of the President and send him to Mexico to overawe the Mexican Government. A Roosevelt and a McAdoo look alike to them."

To which he adds, "The party emblems of the two old parties are an elephant for the Republican Party and a donkey for the Democratic Party. These two animals have evidently amalgamated and have become one. It is a mythical animal with one body and two heads—one is the Republican elephant head with the big trunk; the other head with the long ears came from the donkey. But the most remarkable part is the wiggling tail—the progressive faction."

This tail cannot wag "the big, fat animal." It is an impossible task. Therefore he invites the Progressives to join an independent party which means something. In that demand he is no longer alone.

Many voices have joined the chorus—from so many quarters that the effect at first is most confusing.

Senator Henrik Shipstead, the Farmer-Laborite from Minnesota, speaks out his opinion in **The Nation**: "The war killed the Democratic Party and the reconstruction period is killing the Republican Party." We are on the eve of a new lineup. "New parties are not formed because someone makes a wish or because someone passes a resolution. But history travels in cycles, and it is my opinion that we are getting into the course sailed by the country just before the formation of the Republican Party. The signs seem to be the same. Great problems were then, as they are now, clamoring for political solution. Whigs and Democrats were dodging the issue of the extension of slavery and the problem of the Supreme Court. Lincoln did not hesitate to charge that the Supreme Court had been packed with men chosen for their known views on issues coming up for settlement."

La Follette is the Lincoln of 1924, he contends. "Lincoln faced issues squarely in his day as La Follette has been facing them in our day, and about him as a rock gathered the storm-tossed lesser craft which finally formed the Republican Party—the new party of that generation." And Lincoln was faced with the same factional difficulties within the anti-slavery ranks that to-day confront La Follette.

"St. Paul vs. Cleveland" is the terse way that the **Oklahoma Leader** states the difficulties before the leader from Wisconsin. Were those difficulties resolved, the road would be clear for effective Third Party action. The **New York Times** frankly says that a Third Party under La Follette's leadership could throw the election into the House of Representatives. It prints a full page in its Sunday edition speculating on the outcome of such a unique situation.

As if to lay the foundations for such a move, the Wisconsin delegation to the Republican convention has framed a platform, challenging fundamentally the attitude of both "old line" parties. As foretold in the October issue of **LABOR AGE**, the Progressive leader comes out definitely for co-operative ownership in this declaration. At this, **Public Ownership**, organ of the Public Ownership League, finds cause for rejoicing. Let it speak for itself:

"At last it has come. The day for which we have

LABOR AGE

looked and labored for twenty years. The day when a great political leader in America should arise with knowledge and vision enough to see that public ownership, especially of railroads and the sources of power is the strategic issue and the only solution of our utility problems; and with courage enough to declare himself openly, definitely and without equivocation for it and stake his political career upon its achievements.

"Robert M. La Follette has now made just such a declaration. In a platform recently issued and given to the press he declares for a national publicly owned superpower system and for the public ownership of railroads."

That is only the beginning of the platform. In turn it demands: Return of the oil lands, repeal of the Esch-Cummins law, curtailment of the immense sums spent in preparation for war, defeat of the Mellon tax plan, a constitutional amendment limiting the power of the Supreme Court, tariff reduction, abolition of the use of injunction in labor disputes, furthering of co-operative enterprises, a soldiers' bonus, direct election of president and vice-president and the initiative and referendum in federal affairs, revision of the Versailles treaty and a referendum on war.

A REMINDER



Labor

In a few strokes Cartoonist Baer shows the "why" of the constant "Red" scares. This cartoon calls for action by you and me. Let's register our support of the Wheeler resolution to investigate the labor spying agencies, now pending in Congress. Likewise, let's fight against any increase of the money to be voted to the Department of Justice. Write your Congressman and Senator to-day.

Here is a statement almost identical with the program of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, laid down at St. Louis in February. It is a statement on which La Follette could walk out of the Republican convention—meeting in Cleveland on June 10th—and walk into the C. P. P. A. gathering—assembled in the same city on July 4th. Which possibility led a prominent labor official recently to remark in open meeting: "Will July 4th, 1924, see a new Declaration of Independence?"—this time for those who toil.

Just here is where the difficulties arise. The C. P. P. A. is not definitely committed to a new party movement—at least, "not in writing." The groups gathering in St. Paul are so committed—vehemently in some instances. They consist, in the rough, of the successful Farmer-Labor forces in Minnesota and other Farmer-Labor parties, the Committee of 48 and the Communists. The result is—division.

Labor, organ of the railroad unions and also of the C. P. P. A., has denounced the St. Paul conference, and advised its readers to "stay away" from it. The Communists, it declares, will be in control and will discredit any real progressive action. The **News Service of the A. F. of L.** warns of like results from out of the Northwest meeting. It quotes Communist writers, as expressing their intention to "capture" the convention, and split it into an effective "left wing."

The **New Majority**, official paper of the Farmer-Labor Party which ran Christensen for President in the last election, points to the same thing. It quotes the official account of "the third convention of the Workers' Party," appearing in the **Communist International Press Service**. This report speaks of the success of the Communists in getting into the St. Paul conference through the "Federated Farmer-Labor Party." Then it says: "The campaign will allow us to enter the Third Party whenever opportunity presents itself, to form a left wing within it and split it away from the Third Party. By ruthless, merciless criticism of the Third Party, the Communists will unmask its character."

C. E. Ruthenberg, Secretary of the Workers' (Communist) Party, states the position of the Communists in an article in the **Daily Worker**, entitled: "Are We for La Follette?" He answers the question thusly:

"We are not and cannot be for La Follette because we are Communists, and when we say we are Communists, we say that the road to emancipation of the workers and exploited farmers from the oppres-

sion and exploitation of capitalism is through a Proletarian Revolution, Soviets, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and not through a La Follette government." Adding this:

"We are against La Follette. We know that the political victory of the workers and exploited farmers lies over the dead body (politically), of La Follette." But for the sake of the United Front, he says, they will support the Wisconsin leader temporarily.

The **Minnesota Union Advocate**, however, contends that the quotations which are used against the St. Paul convention are "the views of just one small element which is self-important and articulate, and there is no justification for the claim that the communists are the whole thing. The Workers' Party and the Federated-Labor Party, which are both accused of being communistic, will have only ten votes out of a thousand in the convention, and the entire enrolled membership of communists in America are not equal to one-twentieth of the Farmer-Labor votes in Minnesota!"

With no St. Paul convention, it charges, the Cleveland meeting could be swung for a nomination for McAdoo or some other Democratic politician. Many prominent labor officials, it states, "do not realize that the time has come when the wealth producing classes must seek broad general legislative measures of a fundamental character, to meet the economic needs of the people, and these alone can be secured through an independent political party of the wealth producers."

But the **Illinois Miner** and the **Oklahoma Leader**, both under the editorship of Oscar Ameringer, strike a slightly different key. They are for the St. Paul meeting. But they also see hope in the C. P. P. A. They condemn the attacks on the St. Paul meeting, and at the same time deride the "tactics" of the Communists. As it sees things, they stack up as follows:

"The Farmer-Labor movements of the northwest are the only progressive political movements of real consequence thus far in America.

"On the other hand the communists, despite their membership of possibly 5,000 legal voters and 20,000 unnaturalized workers, have succeeded in making themselves ridiculous by their schoolyard tirades against the Socialist party, whose members they refer to as 'vermin,' a 'shameless crew,' etc., to quote from a recent editorial in the official communist organ, the **Daily Worker**.

"Meanwhile the Communist party leads the assault to keep every 'exploited worker' away from the C. P. P. A. convention while the C. P. P. A. seeks

THE THIRD TICKET

LIGHT is gradually shining in on the way that things will turn out politically. The things put down in these pages are helping to make that light.

A bit of checking up on dates will help. On June 10th Coolidge's convention will meet in Cleveland. La Follette's Wisconsin delegation—29 strong—will present their platform. They will make a fuss about the entire mess at Washington. But the over-oiled Republican machine will sweep away their "radical" demands. Then can the Badgers announce their revolt, and proclaim La Follette. This will happen, likely, before the St. Paul meeting.

Three weeks later, on July 4th, the C. P. P. A. can endorse the action of Wisconsin. The Farmer-Labor forces of the Northwest will logically follow the lead thus given. Their views are much nearer those of the C. P. P. A.—when looked into—than to those of the "Federated Farmer Labor Party."

Thus will be brought into being a Third Ticket. It will not be a Third Party in 1924. The "Progressives" must hold the gains they have made, as Republicans and Democrats. They can do this and support La Follette independently. The Third Party will come later, out of the Third Ticket.

to keep everybody but communists away from St. Paul."

Which charges and counter-charges lead the **Milwaukee Leader**, organ of the victorious Milwaukee Socialists, to say that we face "a mixed political situation." The possibilities, as it sees them, are these:

"The Communists are straining every nerve to control the June 17th Convention. If they do control it, the Socialists unquestionably will have nothing to do with the organization resulting from it—for Communist control would kill its prospects. If, however, the Communists fail to control it, and the farmers and workers retain such control, it might happen, in case of a total failure of the Fourth of July meet at Cleveland, that the Socialists would cast in their lot with the Minnesota organization. Or, if the Cleveland meet organizes a party, the Minnesota organization may federate with it."

All of these things, it says, "lie in the lap of the gods." And while they are so located, La Follette—the man upon whom all groups agree as their standard bearer—remains silent. That silence is sure to be broken when the Wisconsin platform meets defeat before the Coolidge machine at Cleveland on June 10th. Those who know him predict that it will be a call to action, on which a movement for a new party against Privilege can be based. Much of the immediate future rests in the hands of La Follette.

How Long Do You Want to Live?

A Vital Question Interestingly Answered

By **CICELY APPELBAUM**

HOW long do you want to live? Once you make up your mind about that, the rest is easy. Science has lengthened people's lives 10 years in the last 20 years. To-day, your expectations of life are 55 years. Only twenty years ago they were 45. It is up to you.

The problem means more to the worker than to anyone else. Ill health means a loss of wages to him. The working man has one commodity to sell in the market to support himself and his family. That commodity is himself—his health, his strength, his ability. If he becomes ill, he has nothing to sell and his money income stops immediately. And when he dies the support stops permanently.

Each workingman loses on an average of ten working days a year through illness—he loses them in wages. And every year, at least 500,000 workers die prematurely—die many years before they would have had their health been properly cared for. So the problem comes home. How long do *you* want to live?

One Answer

The problem is being attacked successfully by the New York locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

If you will take a walk some fine day, east of 17th Street from Union Square, you will come upon a three-story building—the "Union Health Center." This was founded in 1919 to carry on the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. That board is controlled by the workers and employers, as you can guess by its name. It investigates conditions in the industry and improves these conditions by educational and other methods of enforcement.

Medical clinics for examination and treatment of workers had been opened in the past by the Board, to carry the "health gospel" to the garment workers. In 1919, the locals of New York took over these clinics and established a co-operative health center. There members who apply for admission to the union are examined—to be rejected if they are suffering from an actively infectious disease. There members applying for the sick benefit that some locals pay to their members are "looked over." There men who are ill are tested and referred to the proper outside agency for the treatment of their illness. The Center itself treats dental cases, takes x-rays, and does

electric baking and massaging for rheumatism. There are also health classes and an information bureau to answer any questions about diseases that workers want to know. In the past few years a new department, the life extension department, has been established, where workers who want a thorough examination, that they may know how to prolong their lives, are examined by several doctors and given the benefit of joint diagnosis.

In Europe most countries have sickness insurance. Where workers are insured against sickness, physical examinations are given to prevent serious illness which would cause payments of sick benefits.

A Workers' Life Extension Institute

The insurance companies and medical associations have made health insurance impossible in America, at least for a long time. The workers on this side of the water have to look out for themselves. They have to know what's the trouble with them before it becomes too serious to be cured—and that information is generally too expensive to get anywhere. The co-operative clinic has made this information possible. They have to have minor ailments treated, their teeth fixed, so that these will not become more serious. And generally, good treatment is too expensive for the worker. A Life Extension Institute of his own is the need—and the Health Center solves the problem.

But that's one side of the picture. The other side, shop conditions, is also very bright for the members of the I. L. G. W. U. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control has improved sanitary conditions in what were typical sweat shops fifteen or twenty years ago. So much so, that they are model working places now.

It is in this field of shop conditions that the Workers' Health Bureau has gotten in its successful strokes for the lengthening of the worker's life. On the second floor of the St. Denis Building, at 799 Broadway, New York, you will find this effective Bureau busily at work on its important job. It will convince you that you *do* want to live.

This year it has gone into the field of legislation to try to check the inroads of poison on the worker's health. The battle was carried on most intensively in New York.

The Bureau had five amendments to the occupational disease section of the New York State Compensation Law in the New York State Legislature last fall. And they died in the Rules Committee. These bills would have made the State Compensation Law a real compensation law. But the Rules Committee didn't seem to think so. They thought the worker shouldn't want to live.

The Battle Against Poison

The amendments provided for compensation for occupational diseases, resulting from the use of benzol in industry; for silicosis, which arises from work in the dusty trades and often gives rise to the dreaded "T. B."; for poisoning from chlorine, bromine, or iodine derivatives of petrolatum products, such as TNT, used only since 1914; for poisoning by gasoline, benzine, naphtha, etc.; and for infection or inflammation due to cutting compounds, dust, liquids, fumes, or gases. All of these things give rise to occupational diseases. They haven't been taken out of industry yet, and there isn't a great likelihood that all of them will be taken out very soon. At least, the worker should be *compensated* for using poisons.

There is benzol, for instance, which was to be compensated by this amendment. It plays havoc in the workers' ranks. The New Jersey Legislature has recognized this fact. This fall it was provided in the compensation law of the "Skeeter" State that benzol poisoning should be compensated. But the New York Law, passed before benzol was used much, covers only its derivatives. Since the war the use of benzol has grown—in the manufacture of drugs, dyes and explosives; in rubber and its compositions, like fabrikoid, linoleum, artificial leather, tires, footwear, hose, in rubber cement, in millinery glue, in sealing tin cans, in motor car fuel, in paints, in varnish removers, prepared flat coats, shellacs, varnishes, gilding and bronzing fluids.

The painters have been agitating against the use of benzol in paints, because of its poisonous qualities. They have been agitating against the use of the spray machine in painting, which fills the air with benzol fumes, and inevitably results in illness. But their agitation has not yet been successful. If the diseases resulting from benzol are compensated—perhaps, the employers will find it to their interest to discontinue the use of it, just as they were forced to introduce safety regulations wherever accident compensation was introduced.



New York World

A Picture that Speaks for Itself.

That is one of the reasons why this great preventive health organization, the Workers' Health Bureau, advocates compensation. If benzol cannot be taken out of industry—the workers can be compensated for its use. And compensation may result in the prevention which the surveys of the Bureau show is necessary.

Worth Fighting For

Silicosis, which the Bureau wished to have compensated, is the name given to that disease of the lungs which comes from work in the dusty trades.

The fine particles of dust, too small to be seen, enter the lungs. They continue to irritate the lung texture until the inflammation results, which is called "silicosis." It gives rise to tuberculosis, but is not tuberculosis itself, for it is not infectious. There is no way to get it out of industry. But lives can be lengthened if men are afflicted with it, are able to stay away from their work and recuperate. This would be made possible by compensation. Tuberculosis could be prevented. Isn't that worth fighting for?

All these are attempts on the part of the *worker*. For the worker knows that health conditions are up to him—that if he wants to live longer, he must make up *his* mind to it. The question—How long do you want to live? is then echoed by another inevitably. Well, then, what are *you* going to do about it? Union action against disease is the answer.

The Feminine Mind

By PRINCE HOPKINS

GO into a gallery of old pictures and you'll see quaint portraits of tiny children dressed like little old men and women. It was beyond the imagination of our forefathers to think of the children otherwise than as undeveloped grown-ups.

To-day, childish interests and childish ways of thinking are admitted to follow laws of their own. But men still think of women as undeveloped men. So far as women are so, the fault lies less with themselves than with man. Their shortcomings are largely the result of man's injustice. He has kept their minds in a mold, and now affects surprise at their backwardness.

Woman's ways aren't the same as man's ways. But the public believes these differences to be greater than they truly are. Because, as Professor Thorndike observed, we get our ideas from novelists, interested in courtship and parenthood, the fields where differences are greatest; or else, from comparing the most eminent representatives rather than the average of the sexes. And women aren't geniuses as often as men are, for the same reason that they aren't idiots as often as men are. For, fewer of them vary from the normal average.

Many psychologists have devised ways of measuring the standing of women relatively to men in various traits. Their researches, as summarized by Thorndike, show woman to be less vigorous in movement, less athletic, quieter, more dependent, more efficient in foreseeing details, less often colorblind, quicker at memorizing, shyer and more conscientious, more industrious, not so fond of mental or bodily games of skill, more emotional, more eager for change, slower in recovering from grief and more impulsive. Women are less interested than men in things and their mechanisms and more in persons and their feelings.

After all, mechanism and feeling represent the two chief aspects of the universe. The traditional function of woman has been, not the struggle with blind natural forces, but, the maternal and social duties of the home. It was inevitable, therefore, that the emphasis on persons and feelings should be hers. Both her weakness and her strength arise largely from this emphasis, plus the fact that man hasn't allowed her to find her full and natural expression.

The Hysterical Sex

Woman in modern society is more hysterical than man, because this is one of the forms in which repressed emotions show themselves. And from childhood a man-made code of customs has prescribed that to be subdued is the first womanly virtue. Most

of the scandal mongering, and small maliciousness which many women indulge in is a form of resenting the injustice imposed on herself. The tendency to gossip is essentially an attempt to attribute to others the acts of which we ourselves long to be guilty. And woman is ostracised for seeking experiences which are thought quite proper in the case of man.

With the maternal function and the interest in persons, naturally goes the sweet quality which has earned woman the title of "The gentler sex." Moreover, because of woman's physical frailty, her dependence has had to be upon love—where not on guile.

Then how is it, Woman, that in war-time so many of your sex become like harpies shrieking for their prey? Woman, why are you at times ashamed of the gentleness which is both your virtue and your power? In war the true womanly type is found in a Jane Adams, protesting against the carnage, and not in those shrieking Jezebels whose clamor for blood shames their own man.

The jingoistic woman shows at such times the strong affinity existing between blood lust and sex lust. Each arouses the other. And, because convention has repressed you more than it has repressed man, so, when it does break forth, your lust is the more brutal.

But the war psychology of such of you women as are unattached is that of those old men who, from the safety of their counting houses, order forth the youth of the land to torture. It's not they or you who will be torn by the war-machinery or rot in trenches and hospitals. Easy for them and for you to be "patriotic!" Nor are you redeemed by the mothers among you who send sons to battle through a misguided sense of duty, their hearts breaking—but still send them. The first of duties is not to be misguided. Moreover, like the old men again, you have a certain, if unconscious, vindictive envy of those who are going to see what you can't see. Because you're denied this great adventure for yourselves, you must get it vicariously through the experiences of your heroes. So the siren in you awakes, to lure men to terrible death with your kisses and songs.

The Cry for Blood

Nor are there lacking those wedded ones among you who, secretly hating their marriage, and on this account make a great show of "patriotism" in packing off their husbands to the front.

Or your psychology is like that of most ministers of the gospel. They and you have a secret admira-

tion for all that is rightly or conveniently called "Masculine," and a contempt for yourself because you are not "Masculine." Here comes war, the supreme masculine vice; and all your sense of inferiority clamors "Now at last be 'Masculine!'" So you sell your soul for an emotion—the most effeminate thing you could do. How much better to have cried: "I'm proud of the gentleness of my sex. I know that no problem is ever solved by war."

The chief scheme of woman's dreams is love. You find in personal contact with those dear to you a means of immeasurably ministering to your happiness and theirs. Yet among you are also some whose child or husband is like your dress—a sop to vanity; or like your poodle—a thing to cuddle; or like your church-going, a matter of correctness and a salve to conscience.

Others among you make marriage an "Egoism of two." Primitive sexual love expects the reward of being loved in return; the flights of great chivalry are rare. And you women, especially justify this, and think it the highest virtue that each of two beings should live only for the other.

So arises the common saying among those who are working to make the world better, that "A radical married is a radical lost." The unchampioned toilers of the world, and the men who still suffer succorless in the prisons of the world, the past and the future victims of the injustice of the world whose strong men you have tamed, have a long score to settle with you, wives of former leaders.

For the sake of domestic bliss, you would let injustices multiply and public affairs go awry.

For the peace of your fireside, to-night, you will let the nation drift into the next war, wherein your home will be destroyed, your sons conscripted—yes, and even your daughters—and your babes poisoned by gas in their cradles.

Curse of "Comfort"

You say that you want to give your children a comfortable home. But isn't your own immediate comfort the thing you're really seeking? For when these children grow up, unless they are able to have homes of their own equal to that which you give them, they'll not be happy. Perhaps then they will curse you as one who stood apart, and held others apart, from the fight to better the living conditions of the people.

You'd like to live in a respectable neighborhood; you explain that you can't have your children associating with untidy urchins. But do you think to save them from contamination all their lives, in a world which you so little care to better?

You want your children to attend the best schools. But don't forget that the labor movement is fighting to establish schools in which your children won't, under the label of "education," be given capitalist

propaganda—designed to keep you and them in your humble places.

Unpopularity a Hell

Men, even, are mostly sheep, who will follow any leader over a precipice. Yet in herd-mindedness most of you actually outdo men. To be unpopular, or be laughed at—as every earnest innovator must be—this is to you the unbearable hell.

You women now have won the franchise. If the substance of what you have gained turns out disappointingly, at least the principle was worth fighting for. Your victory gives you a new claim to Man's respect and to your self-respect. Best of all, you have put yourself under a new pressure to think. The great psychoanalyst, Freud, finds that the tendency of the mind is regularly toward conservatism—the "repetition complex," he calls it—until pressure from outside stirs things up.

Your invasion of industry and the professions, still more vitally, thrusts you fairly into the modern arena. Herein you'll learn the secret of Man's greater power—namely, that whereas you fight singly, he fights through organization.

A Citadel of Superstition

Grave is the charge against you, that you make the nursery the citadel of superstition. In the school the child makes the acquaintance of science and philosophy. In after life he has often the opportunity of pursuing these intensely. In business and in contact with reality the scientific and philosophic standpoint is found adequate and necessary. But in the home is found the ignorant mother, for whom Darwin, Spencer, and all the world's great minds might never have lived. She still urges her children not to commence affairs on a Friday; nor pass a pin with point toward them; nor sit, thirteen at a table. She still moulds their early plastic minds to fear unknown terrors. She tells them to mistrust the orderly course of nature and the power of man.

Mothers; it's not to the body alone you give birth and nourishment.

You give birth to the aspirations of the "Soul." Then, through your songs, your whisperings and your tales, you nourish the child on yearnings of your own breast. His unconscious mind understands the secret meanings of all you say; deep then speaks to deep as never in his life again; and the seed you then plant, the forgotten by surface memory, grows in the dark and yields everlasting fruit for evil or for good.

But what are you who wield this power? A fountain of light, or superstitious darkness? Of benevolence, or of patriotic or racial bigotry? Of progressiveness or of stolid conventionalism? Of intellect, or of emotionalism? The mother-mind is the source-mind of the race.

Woman! Mother! Crucify not your children, whom you have born into pain.

UNHORISING THE MARQUIS OF BUTE

"COAL BARON" in Britain has often more than a figurative meaning.

Titled families hold the roost—owning either the mines or the lands on which the mines are worked. Frequently, titles are bestowed as a consequence of a man's successful exploitation of the workers. But many of the landed proprietors—to whom Industry and the workers must pay tribute in royalties—run down from the "nobles" of the Middle Ages.

Who can forget that scene in the King's Robing Room five years ago, when Robert Smillie of the Miners grilled one of these "noble" proprietors, the Duke of Northumberland? How clearly he brought out to the Coal Commission, then sitting, the enormous amount of the royalties, the absurdity of their being paid, the low wages of the men, the need for Nationalization! "Capitalism was on trial"—the Labor forces said jubilantly in that day—and it was convicted. But the depression came to its rescue and the miners sank into a worse condition than their previous plight.

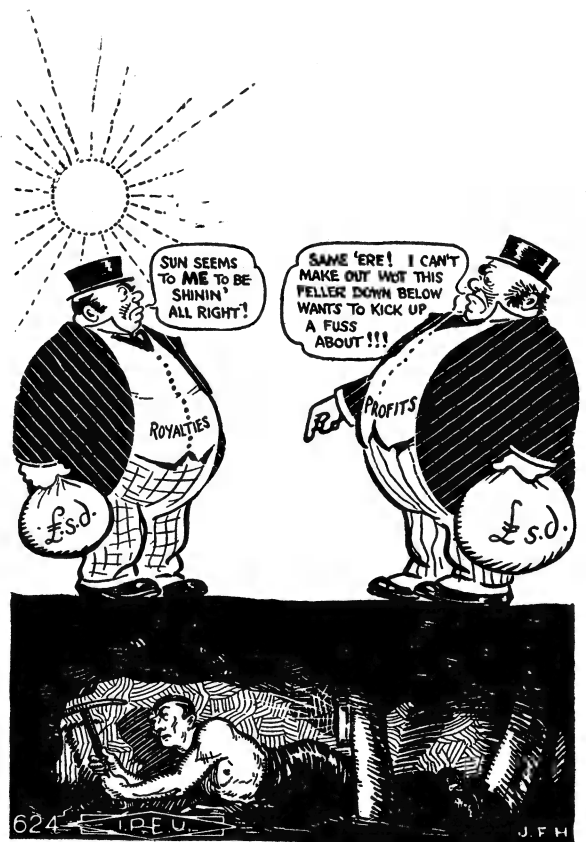
Again, in 1924, is Britain looking into its coal situation. The Miners demand a return to pre-war wages and conditions, plus the increase recommended by the Sankey Commission. The Minister of Labor has appointed a committee of three to survey Coal once more. The Miners are now led by Herbert Smith. Their demand, in his words, "is for a living wage." If privately-owned Industry really cannot pay it, as the owners contend, then the Miners demand Nationalization.

In his plea before the new committee he pointed to the 82,000 pounds sterling a year (about \$400,000) received by the Duke of Northumberland merely for royalties. All that the Duke has to do is to "sit pretty," and pull in the cash. But the Marquis of Bute goes the "noble" Duke one better. He received the truly lordly sum of 115,000 pounds sterling a year, or about \$550,000.

The miners' toll, to pay these royalties to the idle, is not computed only in low wages and long out-of-work periods. It is also found in the "blood of the coal"—the many men and boys maimed and killed each year in the British pits. In 1923, 212,256 were injured and absent from work for more than seven days. The killed numbered 1,297 for that year. Every working day five miners gave their lives for coal. Every working day 850 were hurt. Standing four deep, with the ranks at intervals of a yard and a half, the procession of injured and dead would stretch out 45 miles. A hush came over the room when Smith gave these figures. To think that in America the picture is much worse!

Will Nationalization come out of the present

crisis? There is much doubt about that. The Government, realizing its weakness in Parliament, is not eager to push this issue for the present. The vote of the Miners themselves for their demands was not particularly convincing. Out of 660,000 votes cast, the majority for a "pressing to the utmost" of the demands was only a little over 16,000. This means that in all probability there will be no strike, no matter what occurs, as a two-thirds vote is needed for such action.



THE SUN SHINES—FOR THE MEN ON TOP
So thinks the "Plebs," British Labor Magazine.

What is more likely to happen is the introduction of a Minimum Wage Bill for the industry in Parliament, setting the present wage and providing machinery for future adjustments. In it may be incorporated a few provisions for the beginning of mining reorganization. To this bill the Liberals may agree—and thus Labor may be able to get something of value for the Miners.

Sidney Webb, as Secretary of the Board of Trade, is in a slightly different position from Sidney Webb, the champion of immediate Nationalization of five years ago! The Marquis of Bute will eventually be unhorsed from his high seat—but not yet!

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

Louis F. Budenz, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors

WHAT'S WRONG WITH COAL?

HOW many a good man and true has been lulled to ruin through fair weather!

Balmy Spring is creeping over us—though it is having a rather hard time of it—and the terrors of Winter fade away. Our last tussle with the Snow King was an easy one, at that. A “truce” of several years duration has been signed between the Mine Workers and the union-mine operators. The report of the Coal Commission has been filed. So, reason we all, everything is as nice as could be. Coal crises are of the dim and distant past. We buy our new straw hats—and smile.

A hitch-hike or a motor trip through the soft coal fields say, of West Virginia or of Pennsylvania, might cause that smile to become a trifle hazy. “Old King Coal is sick.” That would come as our first and certain conclusion. “He can’t be cured by half-way measures. He needs a major operation.” That would be another.

For the sake of argument, let us take a spin through Central Pennsylvania. From out of Harrisburg, we run north along the Susquehanna to Clarks’ Ferry; thence through the old covered bridge over the road to Lewiston. A ride along the Kishacoquillas Valley—running away to the distant hills and filled with the farms of the Mennonites—brings us to Mill Creek and its quarries and to Huntingdon. We are now on the road to Tyrone, and 20 miles of hills and the blue Juanita, bring us there. Up to the North, 38 miles of hills away, is Clearfield, seat of District 2 of the United Mine Workers.

Now, no matter which way we turn from these towns—down to the Broad Top region to the South, or to Dubois on the West—we will find men at home, out of work. They are “tinkering around the place” or doing odd jobs—or doing nothing. They are the miners of the sick Coal Industry. The picture is the same in West Virginia. It is much worse in some other centers.

Seventeen miles from Clearfield is Philipsburg, where lives Hugh Archbald, author of the “**Four Hour Day in Coal.**” It is a book, by the way, which no student of labor problems or active labor man can afford to pass up without reading. The conditions which he describes are existent, without a change. There is not enough work for the miners. One or two days a week is about their usual run. That sort of thing is a curse to the men. It is bad for the industry. It spells trouble in the future for all industry, and for you and me, no matter who we may be.

Well, what’s the remedy? You have been taken to Central Pennsylvania because of a controversy going on there about that very point. It has all been set down in the local papers up there and much of it in **Coal Age**, organ of the coal employing interests. B. M. Clark, President of the Central Pennsylvania Coal Producers’ Association, sees naught but gloom ahead. He puts the whole blame on the renewed wage agreement. The operators really didn’t want to sign the agreement. They did it only to keep the coal industry “out of the public eye.” (Evidently afraid of the facts you enjoined the Federal Trade Commission from disclosing—eh, Mr. Clark!)

In brief he says: There are 550 tippie mines completely idle in this region out of a total of 1,000 mines. These idle mines represent about 50 per cent of the capacity of the district and employ 30,000 men. Twelve thousand men have found employment on other mines, leaving a total of 18,000 idle men. The cause, the big cause (we are quoting Mr. Clark) is the high wages under the agreement. The non-union mines are getting the business. Let the union only cut these wages voluntarily, and all will be well!

But at this stage appears John Brophy, President of the Miners in that district. He knows some things that Mr. Clark evidently does not know. He knows that the reports of the U. S. Geological Survey show that the non-union mines are in as bad (if not a worse) condition. Low wages in those fields do not produce more work. In the non-union Maryland fields, for instance, only 38.7 per cent of capacity was being turned out, compared with 55.3 per cent for Central Pennsylvania (Report of March 29th). The out-of-work menace stalks everywhere through soft coal. To argue that high wages create it is sheer folly.

Brophy knows what’s wrong, and says so. It is over-development—a chronic disease of the industry. There are too many mines and too many miners. Development must be checked—and Nationalization is the final cure. But in the meantime, a permanent Fact-Finding Commission and 100 per cent Union-organization would allow miners, operators and the Government to work out the problem in an effective way.

Strangely enough, the **Coal Trade Journal**, organ of the coal industry, strongly confirms Brophy’s contentions about the wage question and unemployment. Editorially it states—in its issue of April 16th—that “‘no market’ losses loom large in the

non-union areas as well" as in the union. It finds the industrial consumer to be the real "nigger in the woodpile." He doesn't buy at the proper times.

As to the extension of unionism: Brophy and the United Mine Workers find their demands upheld there by an impartial study made by Dr. A. F. Hinrichs for Columbia University. It is entitled, "**The United Mine Workers of America and the Non-Union Coal Fields.**" "The non-union fields should be organized," is its author's conclusion. Order can only begin to come in soft coal when the U. M. W. has extended its organization over every region.

THE PROMISE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

THERE is no doubt about it. The workers of America aim to educate themselves. The effort in that direction grows apace, its wonders to perform.

It cannot go too fast. John Frey, Editor of the **Molders' Journal**, has given one reason why. In his address to the last Workers' Education Bureau Conference, he told of a group of workers but recently organized. In meeting the employers, one of them insisted that they should be granted a shorter work-day, because it would make the work go around the better. Another urged the same thing for a directly opposite reason. He argued that the shorter work-day would mean more production. The worker would not tire so easily. All the figures on the 8-hour day showed it to produce more goods than the longer day.

The employer answered: "You contradict yourselves. Go back and agree on your own arguments before suggesting a change." The newly organized group lacked the Facts. Education will give it to them.

That is only one case. It is a modest one. In bigger things, also, the possession of the Facts will aid greatly the workers' cause. Education for group action is the weapon that will win.

Trade unions will be encouraged to learn that the effort toward education is forging ahead. The story of it, the promise of it, the way that it is growing, are set down for us in the **Workers' Education Year Book**, just issued by the Workers' Education Bureau of America. We find that during the past five years the idea has leaped ahead.

The beginning was made with the I. L. G. W. U. "Educational Department," owned by that live needle trades international. Then came the Boston College and Brookwood. Now is the day of the labor college in almost every large city. These things that have taken place are fine. The promise of the future is even greater.

Patience is a necessity in carrying out this job. That and a realization of what it will accomplish. The discussions of the "ways and means" of the movement—as set down in the pages of the W. E. B.

Year Book—are worth while pondering over. They can spur local unions and city central bodies on to a larger effort toward providing education for their members. It is the key to Labor's progress in the years to come.

UNION EMPLOYMENT BUREAUS

WHEN the factory system arose out of the great machine inventions, and put the system of "working by hand" out of business, it gave one hard uppercut to the workers. From that blow they have never fully recovered.

The worker no longer controlled his job. The right to hire and fire had gone with the machine into the hands of the employer—and into his hands alone. As Dr. Gordon Watkins says in his recent "**Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems**": "The increasing dependence of the working class upon capitalist-employers for the opportunity to work" was the worst thing for the workers that came out of the rise of the factory.

The coming of the union challenged this power of the employer, in part. But in the face of employer-ownership of the tools of production, the insecurity of the worker remained. Of late, our American trade unions have been giving increased attention to making the employer responsible for the out-of-work periods from which the workers suffer. Unemployment insurance plans like those of the Amalgamated Lace Operatives—mentioned in the March issue—have been put into effect. (The committee which introduced that plan, be it said for the record, was composed of Brothers John Burns, William Borland and David Scott of the Lace Operatives.)

The needle trades have been among the pioneers in attempting to work out this problem of unemployment. They are bringing into their industry numerous Unemployment Insurance and Unemployment Assurance plans, covering large masses of workers. To these the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has added another unique institution—the union employment bureau.

This bureau allows the union to hold control of the employment of the individual worker. At the same time it gives the employer scientific service in the securing of employees. It is organized on the principle of giving the employer the sort of worker he wants, so far as efficiency is concerned, and of enabling the workers to get jobs, no matter how old they may be.

Three offices are now in operation. The Chicago office was opened a year ago under the direction of Bruce Stewart. The New York office, under A. Kazan, came into being in January of this year. The Philadelphia office has just been established.

Records are made in each office of all the men who are out of work. When a call comes in, the job is given to the man who is first on the list and is best fitted for the job. Suppose a pocket maker is



HARRY AS ATTORNEY GENERAL JUST YEARNED TO "SERVE HIS COUNTRY"

*Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine***BURNS' BATTLE**

In Congress a big fight is going on. It centers around the effort of the Federal Spy System to secure an enormous sum of money for the coming year. As has been shown by the representatives of Labor and the American Civil Liberties Union these great sums are for the purpose of building up a Czaristic scheme in America—aimed at the Labor Movement and "unorthodox" groups. "It shall not pass."

wanted. The man first on the list is a pocket maker, but unfortunately has worked only on cheaper garments than the shop turns out. The first pocket maker is not sent in that case, but one further down the list who can qualify. This does away with the hit-and-miss method which so many unions have to resort to, as a matter of necessity.

The men are sent out just as the calls come in. New York has small shops, as a rule. The absence of one man at times stops the entire operation. The union in this market must fill the call immediately upon receiving it. In the Chicago market, where larger shops prevail, a leeway of 48 hours is allowed. If the first man on the list is not in the office when the call comes in, another man is sent to do the work for the day. Then the first man on the list is sent. But for temporary work, someone is chosen from the waiting room.

Men who are out of work because their shops have temporarily ceased operation, do not get jobs until men totally out of work are employed. Discharges are used to check-up on the men and the employers. If a man is being constantly discharged, the office makes inquiries as to what is wrong with the worker. An employer who is always firing his

workers, also can now be checked up. He is told by the union that he must change his tactics and make the best of the situation with the men he has on hand.

The offices are organized on a careful and systematic basis. The records are accurate and complete. The New York office has two waiting rooms. One is for the men who can soon expect jobs. They sit here, generally until 12 o'clock, going out as the calls for them come in. They sit in three sections—pressers, tailors, operators. Each of these sections is sub-divided into the different operations—sleeve basters, canvas basters, fitters, etc. The women, generally finishers, sit in another section. The other room is for the men whose numbers are too high to get a job that day. They come around to see whether there is any hope for work, how they are advancing on the list and to gossip with their fellows.

For more than one reason the union employment bureau is an innovation of promise. It gives the organized workers a further grip on the place in the present scheme of things where they have been the weakest—the control of the job.

IN EUROPE

THE WORKERS "COME BACK"

"STRIKE!"

That is the word heard all over Great Britain. Two million men are demanding higher wages and better conditions. They are "coming back," out of the evil time of industrial depression.

The London tramway strike is settled, only to see a lockout in the shipyards. Building, engineering, textiles and other trades are raising their voices for a new deal.

The tramway strike was the most complete in the history of the Empire's capital city. Every man responded to the call of "down tools." The employers saw no alternative but to surrender, on the best terms they could get. The strike ended with the workers getting two-thirds of their demands. The Labor Government threw itself into the breach in the tramway dispute, with a Court of Inquiry. It acted with the same speed as in other difficulties, and no doubt helped greatly to bring about a settlement.

One recommendation of the Court of Inquiry has, however, aroused the ire of trade unionists. It is the veiled suggestion that strikes be curbed in "public services," such as the tramways. The Trades Union Congress officials will not hear of that for a moment. They do not want any experimentation on the order of the New Zealand plan, which has gradually aroused the animosity of labor men in that far-away "possession."

The business press has been whipped into a fury by the unrest in the ranks of the workers. Even economists, more or less favorable to Labor's cause, have been disturbed by the continued agitation. Sir Leo Chiozza Money and J. A. Hobson have both pleaded for consideration of the "community"—and the Parliamentary Labor Party. But Fred Bramley, Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, makes a ringing reply. It indicates the workers' spirit.

The suggestion made by these economists, he says, are in the interests of the employers—whether or not they intend them to be so. He devotes a little sermon to the "theorists," not without its value. "The workers and their representatives," he states, "engaged daily in dealing with the circumstances of an industry, are better judges of the opportune time for improving conditions than the academic theorist."

As for the Labor Party: Trade unionists are not unmindful of their duty to that party. But if the Government's policy is going to be modified to satisfy political opposition in the House of Commons, and if the trade union policy is to be modified to satisfy this political policy, then political victory for Labor will mean defeat for the workers. Such is not the

case, and will not be the case. The present disputes are the result of economic cycles and have nothing to do with the Government. Thus says Mr. Bramley, and with rare good sense.

FRANCE AT THE CROSSROADS

BOTH Germany and France are at the polls this month.

The vote in France means much more than the German election. After all, Germany in an international way can only do what she is told to do. She is helpless. Defiance, so far as the campaign of non-resistance is concerned, has cost her dear—though it has cost France as much. Germany's only hope in the way of a defi lies in alliance with Moscow. That is hardly likely to come to pass—not for the present. Germany knows too well the price of that.

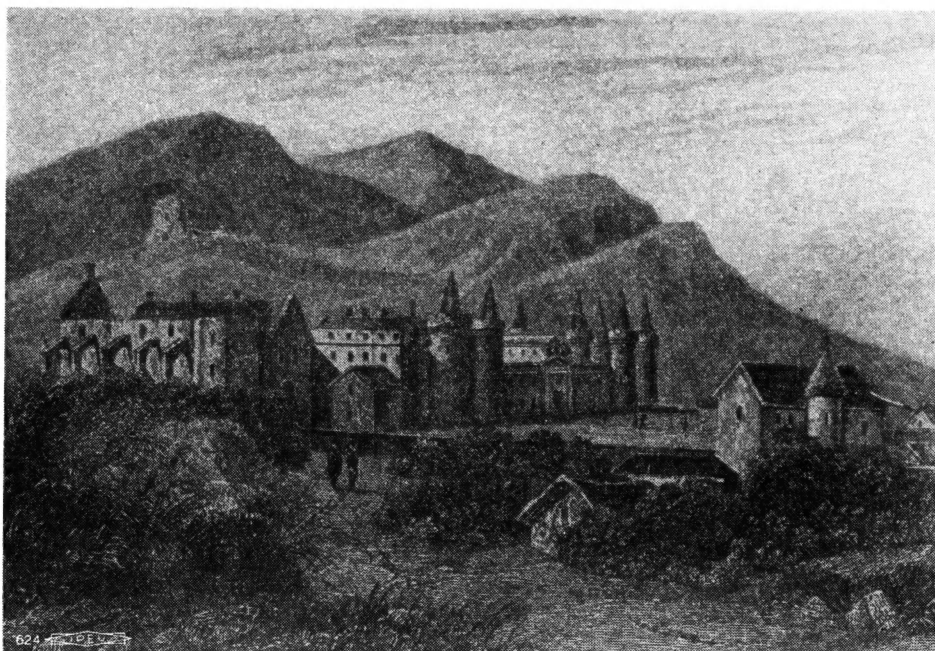
In France, Poincare stands for war and endless agitation. Rejection of him is a rejection of the dire condition in which all Europe finds itself. His taxes bear heavily on the French people. And the French peasant dislikes high taxes.

Unlike the election of 1919—when the Reaction swept into full power—the Radical Bloc is now a unit. In the effort of five years ago, they were more or less caught by surprise. A new electoral system had just been introduced. Under it, coalition parties had a great advantage. It was a crude adaptation of proportional representation, allowing the party or group of parties gaining a majority in any district to get a certain large bulk of the representatives from that district. The situation under the old system had been entirely different. The Socialists could carry on their individual campaign without injuring the number of their representatives. So with each party in the Radical Bloc.

The National Bloc—Poincare's band of reactionaries—saw the advantage of united action under the new regime. They ran their candidates as a unit in 1919. Victory crowned them. So, at least, reasons Leon Blum, conservative Socialist leader. France, he declares on the eve of the election, is in reality a "Left" country. It will report a defeat for Poincare. Any other outcome would mean the end of Peace—for "French Reaction stands at the head of European Reaction."

If France smashes Reaction through a Socialist-Radical victory, the working classes of Europe can heave a sigh of relief. It will give them a few years' breathing spell. In that time they may be able to patch up some of the tattered fences of their union organizations and work out further advances.

MINER BROWN OF HOLYROOD CASTLE



This picture, presented to its readers by the "New York Times," gives a glimpse of some changes going on in England. They are the outcome of the rise of power of the British Labor Party. A poor miner is now the custodian of Holyrood Castle, the stamping ground of Scottish royalty and nobility. When the royal family come north to visit Scotland, they will be the guests of Miner Brown.

"TAKING THE STEEL OUT—"

FAR-AWAY New Zealand continues to give us things to think about, in "how not to do it."

State Socialism has been tried and found wanting, so far as the labor problem goes. By "State Socialism," of course, is meant the control and ownership of industry by the state, with the workers playing a poor second fiddle.

American workers know of the Arbitration Court of the island. They have learned how unsatisfactory it has been. Framed for the benefit of the trade unions, the idea of compulsory arbitration has turned out to be a serious obstacle to their progress.

Little can we wonder at this. Power begets more power, always. Give a court an inch and it will take a mile. The unions cannot afford to surrender the right to act in their own behalf at all times. They have done exactly this in New Zealand.

Professor J. B. Conliffe of Canterbury College on the island, reviews the history of the Court in the recent issue of the **International Labour Review**, organ of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations. While he tries to remain impartial in his verdict, he admits that the Court has done much "to take the steel out of the unions." They no longer fight as they formerly did for the rights of the workers.

More than that, it has also created division in the labor ranks. For, the more militant unions have

deserted the regular bodies. They have defied the Court. The "Land Without Strikes" has had a number of strikes, directed not only against the employers, but against the Court itself.

How far the Court has gone toward seizing power is shown by the decision of the Chief Justice six years after its being set up. In an appeal case he says:

"The court can make the contract or agreement that is to exist between the workman and employer. It abrogates the right of workmen and employers to make their own contracts." Speaking plainly, it takes away from the organized workers the right to decide their own fate.

Professor Conliffe tells us one other thing of importance about New Zealand's experiences. "It is equally clear," he says, "the mere collective ownership of an industry is, by itself, no solution of the labor problem. The state coal mine and the various railway workshops are notorious centers of militancy in the Labor Movement." This, he adds, in spite of the doing away with private profit and "easier working conditions."

There is a key here to guidance in America. In creating public ownership of industries, one thing above all must be kept clear. It is the workers' voice in management—definite and permanent. Unless that is secured, collective ownership will not prove of much advancement.

With Our Readers

(The interest aroused by the subjects discussed in recent issues of LABOR AGE has flooded this office with letters from our readers. It is impossible to publish all of them, but from now on we will devote at least one page to the most interesting of this correspondence.)

FROM SPENCER MILLER:

LET me commend you on your symposium on Workers' Education which appears in the April issue of the LABOR AGE.

SPENCER MILLER, Jr.,
Secretary Workers' Education Bureau.

FOR JUSTICE SAKE!

IT is hoped that all who read the following letter sent to Senator Wheeler, will, for the sake of justice and freedom, write at once to President Coolidge urging the release of Nicholas S. Zogg, the last remaining Political Prisoner, who has already served six years in the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta.

ELLEN WINSOR.

Haverford, Penna.

HON. BURTON K. WHEELER,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On account of the interest your Committee is taking in the activities of the Department of Justice and the Burns Bureau of Investigation, we wish to call to your attention some incidents which occurred recently and to give you certain information which was brought out during an interview held between the undersigned and Mr. James A. Finch, Pardon Attorney in the Department of Justice.

Mr. Finch admitted frankly to our delegation, composed of a group of eleven women interested in free speech, that the Department of Justice had secured a long-term imprisonment in the penitentiary of a man named Fritz W. Bishoff through the activities of two of its men acting as "agents provocateurs." In other words, that Bishoff was framed by the Department and then sent to the penitentiary for a long term.

Our delegation called on Mr. Finch on May 6th, to talk with him about the case of Nicholas S. Zogg, who was convicted in California in 1918, and has been in prison ever since. He was sentenced to ten years under the Espionage Act and two years under the Draft Act for opposing enlistment and aiding "prisoners of conscience." Zogg, who is sixty years old, is ill with tuberculosis and has already served six years. In reply to our question as to why Zogg had not been given his liberty (he was accidentally not included among the I. W. W. prisoners granted an unconditional release by President Coolidge in December, 1923), when the President had commuted the twenty-five year sentence of Fritz W. Bishoff, a German, sentenced in New Jersey in 1918, for attempting destruction of war munitions, Mr. Finch stated in substance that Bishoff was to be released and deported because he had actually not committed a crime; that he had been led by two of the Department's agents to express his readiness to perform an act of destruction of war munitions; these agents had incited the act of violence and then anticipating the act, had apprehended their victim and sent him to jail.

The objects of this letter are to call attention to the fact that the Department of Justice in this acknowledgment has admitted that it employs methods repugnant to the customs and traditions of America; and to the fact that Nicholas Zogg is still held in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary under a repealed Espionage Act, while all other political prisoners, and even suspected German spies have been freed.

LAVINIA L. DOCK,
Fayetteville, Penna.
ELLEN WINSOR,
Haverford, Penna.

A NEW MONEY STANDARD

HENRY FORD is often quoted as saying that a New Era is already here. However that may be, I think we are slowly progressing, even if the emphasis is on the "slowly." When we scan the horizon of World affairs, we cannot but be thrilled with hope. I am convinced that this feeling of hope is the most sustaining one we have, nor can it be denied that right is gradually winning over the forces of greed and selfishness.

Let us take our newest cause of hope, the ascendancy of the Labor Government in England. What can we expect of it that will make our own course clearer? Can they establish a better economic fabric than the gold holders have fastened to our belts? If so, what will be their course? You know I have absorbed a good deal of this talk about a sound money base and a supply that would do away with this privilege these private bankers have of loaning the same money out two or three times over at the same time. Any dunce knows that that won't work, but they are doing it and have been for some time; and that is one of the reasons that is going to force the people to part with the Gold standard.

But all these howlers at the gold dollar are conspicuously silent when it comes to suggesting a more possible one. It is here that I wish to give them the right steer, provided they are really desirous of making the money system function as it should by being the peoples' barometer of accomplishments.

I wish to say right here that the reason the worth-while things are not being done at present is because of this limited medium of currency, based on a substance so scarce that it cannot and will not counter-balance the work that mankind is willing to perform if given the opportunity and a just equivalent of his toil.

We must, therefore, get rid of this deception as soon as possible and fasten or guarantee our money on something that increases in the same proportion as our needs. This opportunity or form of wealth is not hard to find. We are using it, every day and every minute of the day and night. It is our houses and buildings and structures that we cherish and guard more than anything else except food. We all know the value of this wealth if we have to be told the value of gold. We insure it against any possible loss, so we have here the collateral on which to base our money. That collateral is insurance, which until the time we make use of it, has laid in a musty tin box or some other safe place; and we little dreamed that governments might make use of it to the great benefit of ourselves and our children.

Let us suppose that governments take over their undisputed right to issue money and also to loan this money on our insurance papers. They could stipulate a safe part of the face of the policies, say one-half. You can see that all who have insured homes or buildings that are useful, could get credit that would be real instead of uncertain as at present. In case of a loss by fire the government would probably have to charge a fine of a small percentage to keep this menace down and to make us be careful with our property. If we didn't need the money that the insurance would bring, we could receive interest on same by leaving it on deposit at the bank. In this way we could get enough or more than would pay the premiums. We would also be sure of employment through the government's use of this money to build reclamation projects, irrigating and drainage systems—to redeem waste lands that could be sold to help pay the expenses of the government. In this way the government would be able to purchase the railroads and utilities and build more.

You all see the possibilities are unlimited with a proper system of finance, and you also see that the greatest obstacle in the way of development at present is the Gold standard.

If anyone knows of a better way, let him speak up. I do not.

Yours truly,
W. SIMPSON.

Salt Lake City, Utah.

POLITICAL PROPHECIES FULFILLED

NOT only was LABOR AGE the first publication to point out that Robert M. La Follette would be a candidate of the Farmer and Labor forces on a Third Ticket this year. It also emphasized in its issue of October, 1923, that La Follette would come out definitely during the year for a program of public and co-operative ownership of railroads and natural resources.

The platform of the Wisconsin La Follette Progressives confirms that prediction.

We point to this to show the accurate manner in which LABOR AGE is keeping in touch with the national, political and economic situation. This year in particular, active labor men and women, and progressive trade unions will find it a source of valuable information.

It is of particular value, because it is a digest of the Labor Movement—recording carefully and fully the new and constructive things which Labor is adopting in its march forward.

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